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INTRODUCTION.

We do not find any reference to Kambuja (the Sanskrit name for Cambodia in the Indo-Chinese inscriptions) in Sanskrit literature. C O N T E N T S.

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Map of Kambuja

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Abbreviations :- B.C. A.I. = Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-
-Chine. B.E.F.E.O. = Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. J.S.C.E.
= Inscription Sauravilés de Champa et du Cambodge. J. As. = Journal Asiatique.
N.E. = Notes d'Epigraphie by M. Finot. C.E. = ^{ne}çaka era (starting from 78 A.D.)

INTRODUCTION.

We do not find any reference to Kambuja (the Sanscrit name for Cambodia in the Indo-Chinese inscriptions) in Sanscrit literature. It may have been included in that vague term Suvarna-bhumi (the Chryse of the Greek and Roman writers) which seems to mean generally the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal. The coast of Farther India was the El Dorado of Indian adventurers from the times of the Jātakas (which are at least as old as the 3rd century B.C.). The Mahajanaka Jātaka (Cambridge ed., VI, No. 539) and the Sāṅkhyā Jātaka (IV, No. 442) mention merchants taking ship from Benares and from Champa (Bhagalpur), sailing down the Ganges into the open sea and then steering their course towards Suvarna-bhumi. Kaṭilya in his Artha-Śāstra refers to Suvarna-kudyaka as a country of rare and precious products. As Prof. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out⁽¹⁾ this place is also mentioned in the Middesa (a portion of the Pāli canon probably of the first century A.D.) together with Suvarna-bhumi, Java and Vanka (an island near Sumatra) and was probably somewhere near Java. The allusions in the Rāmāyana to the Kirātas, who lived on the Arakan coast on the heights of Mount Mandāra (the region of Kírrhadia and Mont Maïandros of Ptolemy according to Prof. Lévi), and to Java are well-known. I need not mention the references to Sumatra, Suvarna-bhumi, etc., in later works like Kathā-sarita-sāgara. It is strange therefore that the history of the Hindu culture in Kambuja should be known to us only through the discoveries made in Cambodia itself in the latter half of the 19th century.

1) Prof. Sylvain Lévi - Ptolemé, Le Middesa et La Brhat Kathu, Etudes Asiatiques, 1925.

In 1570 a Dominican friar Gabriel Quiroga of San Antonio discovered Angkor and described it as a deserted city in the midst of a forest known only to hunters. In 1672 a French priest of the name of Chevreuil describes Angkor Vat as a shrine where worship had been resumed by Buddhist monks.⁽¹¹⁾ But it was the rediscovery of Angkor by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot in 1861 which led to its being known by the Western world. Mouhot died shortly afterwards and it is to the explorer Doudart de Lagree that the credit is due of making the first discoveries (1866) of the Sanscrit inscriptions on which our knowledge of ancient Kambuja (Cambodia) is based. After his premature death the work of collecting facsimiles of the inscriptions was continued by Dr. Harmand. The attention of Prof. Kern, the great authority on ancient Java, was drawn to these facsimiles and in 1879 were deciphered for the first time a few of these Sanscrit inscriptions by this learned Orientalist.^(11½) The next year appeared the first work of M. Aymonier on Kambuja epigraphy and by 1881 he had succeeded in deciphering the dates of accession of some of the important Khmer (the vernacular name for Cambodia) sovereigns. When he returned to France at the end of that year - the materials collected by him were carefully examined by M.M. Barth, Senart and Bergaigne. The report on this joint work read by M. Bergaigne in 1882 before the Societe Asiatique was an important landmark in the work of reconstruction of Kambuja history. It gave a tentative chronology, dated the most ancient inscriptions fairly successfully and emphasised the relations between Hinduism and Buddhism in ancient Kambuja. In 1883 appeared M. Aymonier's important work on Khmer (the old

1½) M. Goloubeff - Introduction a la connaissance d'Angkor, 1922.

11½) M. Finot - L'Epigraphie Indochinoise, B.E.F.E.O., T. XV, p.113 & seq.

vernacular of Cambodia) inscriptions - "quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux Khmer" - which was a valuable supplement to the information available from the Sanscrit inscriptions. Moreover he continued to send to Paris facsimiles which were examined by MM. Barth and Bergaigne. In 1885 appeared the first volume of the important work "Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge". This was the contribution of M. Barth. The preparation of the second volume had been entrusted to M. Bergaigne but before it could be published this great scholar (to whom the restoration of Kambuja history is mainly due) perished while climbing the Alps. The papers left by him for the second volume were arranged and published by the collaboration of MM. Barth, Senart and Sylvain Lévi. Since then M. Louis Finot has continued the work of Bergaigne in deciphering and editing the inscriptions as they came to light in his Notes d'Epigraphie. These have been published in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.

A very valuable contribution has been made to this task by M. George Coedès in his rendering of the important Buddhist inscriptions of Kambuja and in his 'Etudes Cambodgiennes'.

We have the unique opportunity of checking to some extent the statements of the inscriptions as regards the history of Kambuja by information gathered from the inscriptions of the neighbouring kingdom of Champa (Annam) and from the Chinese chronicles. The Chinese annals are particularly valuable for the earlier and later period of Khmer history and we shall see that they generally confirm the statements of the inscriptions. For these Chinese sources we are indebted to M. Rouzat (Nouveau Melange Asiatique), Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys (traduction du Wen hien tong Kao (Ethnography des peuples étrangers) de Ma-touan-lin) and especially to M. Pelliot (Le Founan and Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde).

Very valuable work has thus been done by French savants as regards ancient Indian influence in Indo-China, but as M. Finot himself thinks it should be the work of Indians to show how the ideas and institutions of India were transformed when introduced among foreign races. Moreover very little is known in India about these powerful Hinduized States of Siam, China. Again ancient Kambuja should be studied also with ancient Java & Sumatra for which Dutch scholars have done splendid work.

EARLY LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS.

There are curious early legends and traditions concerning the origin of the Indian or Indianised states of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago.

Funan is the Chinese name of one of these states, and it seems to have been the most powerful of them all. It covered an area much wider than that of the present Cambodia. There is a controversy as regards the relation between Kambuja (from which the name of Cambodia has been derived) and the ancient Funan. Some think that Kambuja is simply a later name of the kingdom known to the early Chinese chroniclers as Funan. But the prevailing opinion is that Kambuja was a vassal state which in the 6th century A.D. threw off the yoke of Funan, and gradually annexed the central provinces of the suzerain state which soon ceased to exist.

The history of the Southern Tsi (Nan Tsi ^{Chu} Ci) compiled in the beginning of the 6th century, mentions the following local tradition of Funan as regards the origin of that kingdom. This passage is probably based on the account of two Chinese ambassadors who visited Funan about the middle of the third century A.D.

1) "Of old this country had for sovereign a woman ^{woman}

1) Pelliot, Le Founan, p. 275 (B.E.F.E.O., t. III)

of the name of Lieou-ye. Then there was a man of the country of Ki, Houen-t'ien, who dreamt that a god gave him two bows and bade him embark on a junk and go out on the sea. In the morning Houen-t'ien went to the temple of the god and found a bow. Then he embarked on a junk and sailed towards Funan. Lieou-ye saw the junk and led her troops to resist him. But Houen-t'ien raised his bow and shot an arrow which, passing through the side of a boat, struck somebody within. Lieou-ye was frightened and submitted. Houen-t'ien married her. He wrapped her in a piece of cloth as she had no clothing."

Now Houen-t'ien is an exact transcription of Kaundinya. The country Ki is not known. Another chronicle mentions Kiao which might mean the kingdoms which were far off.

The legend ^{and} of the name Kaundinya reappears in an inscription of Champa, dated 658 A.D., relating to the foundation of Bhavapura -- the capital of Kam-buja. "It was there that Kaundinya, the greatest of the Brahmans, planted the javelin which he had received from Açvatthâman, the son of Drona. There was a daughter of the Nâga king of the name of Somâ who founded a royal race on this earth. The great Brahman Kaundinya married her for the accomplishment of the rites," ¹⁾

1) Inscr. of Mi So'na, N° 111, B.E.F.E.O., IV, 919

It may be suggested that this legend passed from Kambuja to Champa after the marriage of the princess of Kambuja, Çri Çarvani, daughter of King Içânavarman, to the prince of Champa Çri Jagaddharma (afterwards king of Champa with the title of Vikrântavarman). The legend reproduces therefore the genealogical tradition officially accepted at the Kambuja court in the 7th century.¹⁾

In the Kambuja Annals, which disappeared during the wars of the 18th century and were rewritten towards the end of it and which partly embodies old traditions, the following account appears of the origin of the kingdom :-- "Adityâvamça, king of Indraprastha (Delhi), being displeased with one of his sons, Prah Thong, drove him out of his kingdom. The prince arrived in the country of Kok Thlok (the Khmer name of Kambuja meaning the land of the Thlok tree) where ruled a Cham prince who was soon dispossessed of his throne by the newcomer. One evening, caught unawares by the tide on the sea-shore, he was obliged to spend the night there. A Nâgi of marvellous beauty came to play on the beach. The prince fell in love with her and was married to her. The Nâga-râja, father of the Nâgi, expanded the kingdom of his son-in-law by drinking off the water which covered the country, built for him a capital and changed the name of the country into Kambuja."¹⁾

1) Finot, Sur quelques Traditions Indo-Chinoises, Bul. de C. Arch. de l'Indochine, 1910, p.32.

It may be mentioned here that the capital of Kambuja, Angkor (Sanskrit Nagar), was also known as Indraprasthapuraⁱ⁾. In Ptolemy's map of Trans-Gangetic India a tribe known as Indraprasthai is located in the north of Central Indo-China.

The origin of the Çailendra dynasty of Çrivijaya (with its headquarters at Palembang in S.E. Sumatra) seems also to be associated with the Nâga tradition. In the Chu-fan-chi of Chao Jou-Koua, a work on Chinese trade in the 12th century, it is stated :- "They (the people of San-fo-tsi or Çrivijaya) gave the title of "long-tsing" to their king". Now the word "long-tsing" according to Pelliot means "the seed of ^{the} Nâga"ⁱⁱ⁾.

The old Tamil poem Manimegalai mentions a town Nâgapuram in Çavaka-nâdu which is the Tamil name for Java. Two kings of Nâgapuram are mentioned -- Bhumi Chandrⁱⁱⁱ⁾ and Punyarâja who claimed descent from Indraⁱⁱⁱ⁾. This Nâga legend is found, on the other hand, among the Pallavas of Kanchi. There are two inscriptions dating from the 2nd 9th century giving the genealogy of the Pallava kings. According to the first Açvathamam, the son of Drona, married a Nâgi and their offspring was Skandaçişya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava kings. The second inscription, found in

i) Aymonier, Une notice sur le Cambodge (the introduction to his Dictionnaire Français-Cambodgien, 1874)

ii) G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrivijaya, p.II.

iii) Dr. Vogel, The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Kutei (E. Borneo).

North Arcot, says that Virukarṇa married a Nâgi and obtained from her the insignia of royalty and that after him came Skandaṣyaⁱ⁾. In Kambuja the Nâgi is the founder of a new race of kings. At Kânci the Nâgi gives the insignia of royalty to Virukarṇa. We must also remember that there must have been a close connection between the kingdoms of Indo-China, the Archipelago and Pallava kingdom of Kâncîpuram as is evident^{ad} by the same script found in the inscriptions of all these countries and by the title of Varman borne by the rulers of these kingdoms. As Prof. Coedes points outⁱⁱ⁾, "The Cambodian legend of the Nâgi brings us back to the Pallava court." And we have seen that the legend extends to the Archipelago as well.

The tradition of the Nâgi ancestress of the kings of Kambuja survived up to the 13th century as we see from the accounts of Cheon Ta-Kouan, who accompanied the ambassador of Kublai Khan, the Emperor of China, to Angkor -- the capital of Kambujaⁱⁱⁱ⁾. In the palace there is a golden tower at the top of which is the bed-chamber of the king. The natives say that there exists in the tower the spirit of a serpent with nine hoods which owns the soil of the whole kingdom.

i) Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., t. xi, p. 393

ii) *ibid.*

iii) B.E.F.E.O., t. ii, p. 145- Memoires de Tchou Ta-Kouan.

Every night it appears in the form of a woman. . . . If it fails to appear it means that the death of the king is imminent."

Sculptured representations of Nâgas with many hoods are to be found everywhere in Indo-China to this day. Perhaps they commemorate the memory of the Nâgi ancestress. As we shall see later on there were kings both of the lunar and the solar race in Kambuja. The kings of Funan belonged to the lunar race and traced their origin to the Nâgi Somâ and Kaundinya. Perhaps the name Somâ (Soma in Sanscrit meaning the moon) suggested the idea of linking up the dynasty ^{with} to the lunar race of the Mahâ-bhârata. The kings of Kambuja (as distinguished from Funan) had a separate genealogical tradition. Their ancestors were represented to be the great sage (maharṣi) Kambu and the apsarâ Merâ. This couple founded the solar dynasty. The name of the country Kambuja was also said to be derived from the name of the rishî. But as Finot points out¹⁾ this tradition did not last long. It appears in one or two inscriptions (especially in the inscription of Baksei Camkron dated 947 A.D.) and then it dies out leaving the field to the older legend of the Nâgi. Perhaps the kings of Kambuja wanted to be remembered by posterity as the lineal descendants of the sovereigns

1) Sur Quelques Traditions Indo-Chinoises, Bul. de Com. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1911, p.34.

of Funan. Even now in wedding ceremonies the names of the Nâgi Somâ and the Brahman Kaundinya are mentioned as part of the ritual 1).

By the by the Liang annals (502 - 556) of China say that the family name of the king of Poli (a state in the Archipelago) was Kaundinya. They mention also a native tradition that the wife of Suddhodhana, the father of Buddha, was a lady from their country. It is interesting to note that Kaundinya was the name of the maternal uncle of the Buddha. Can it be that the princes of Poli were immigrants from India who claimed relationship with Buddha? A letter to the Emperor of China from the king of Poli in 518 A.D. is certainly fervently Buddhist in tone.¹¹⁾ Now there are two Polis -- one in the north-east of Sumatra and the other in the north-west of Borneo. We do not know which is meant. We know from a Sanskrit inscription found at Kotel in Borneo dating probably from the early fifth century A.D. that a Hindu king of the name of Kundagga was ruling on the east coast of Borneo.

Again Chinese annals state that a second Kaundinya came to Funan about 400 A.D. and that he completely changed the laws and customs of the state modelling them on those of India.

Finot gives other instances of traditions

-----1) Aymonier, Hist. de l'ancien Cambodge, p. II
 11) Notes on the Malay Archipelago by W.P. Groenvelde
 (Essays relating to Indo-China, repr. for the Straits
 branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2nd Series, vol. I, 1887)

ascribing the foundation of Indo-Chinese States to great ris^{is}¹⁾. In Siam the ancestors of the peoples were said to be two Brahmans who, after having peopled ^{the} villages with their offspring, selected a king, Pathamarâja, and then retired from the cares of the world for tapasyâ. One finds also two Rajarsis associated with the origin of the kingdom of Thaton (Sudharmanagara). The elder finds on the sea-shore two eggs (of a Nâgi) and from one of the eggs is hatched a child who later on founds the state of Thaton. Then again a king of Thaton marries the daughter of a magician (a Brahman ?) and of a Nâgi, who had been abandoned in a forest while yet an infant and who had been brought up by a hermit, and the offspring of this marriage found^{ed} the Kingdom of Hamsâvati (Pegu).

As regards Champa a Sanscrit inscription discovered at Dong Duong (in the ancient province of Amarâvati), dated 875 A.D., gives the following legend. A certain Bhṛgu had been sent down from heaven to the earth by Îça (Śiva) to consecrate the linga of Çambhu-bhadreçvara. Afterwards Çambhu with a smile, sends Uroja (another ris^{is} residing in heaven) in his turn to look after the sacred linga. "Thou art fortunate, O Uroja," says Çiva, "go down on the earth and take the kingdom". The inscription goes on :- "It is from Uroja

1) Sur Quelques Traditions Indéchinoises, B.C.A.I., 1911, p.36.

descended from Çiva himself, that all the rulers trace their descent who since then have occupied the throne of Campâpura"ⁱ⁾.

Finally it may be conjectured that Kambuja and perhaps Champa too received Indian immigrants and Indian culture not directly from India but from Indian colonies in Java. In the Ramayana Java is mentioned last in the list of the countries situated in the Far East. An embassy from Java (Yetia^o : Yapdiv according to Pelliot) arrived at the Chinese Court in 132 A.D.ⁱⁱ⁾ The name of the Javanese kingⁱⁱⁱ⁾ who sent this embassy was Tiao Pien which is quite possibly the Chinese transcription of Deva Varmanⁱⁱⁱ⁾. This would then be the earliest embassy from the Hindu or Hinduised states of Indo-China and the Archipelago to the Imperial Court of China. An lastly an old Khmer legend, quoted by Lagree^{iv)}, speaks of the Chvea-pre'ahm, or Java Brahmins, coming from that island to the Khmer country and founding a kingdom there (which however was ruled by a succession of six Cham kings). The Brahmins, says the legend, had long hair and a dark complexion and they claimed to belong to pare a nose^y (Vârânasi or Benâras). The Cham kings (whose names also end in Varman) were driven out by the fugitive

1) G.Maspero, "Le Royaume de Champa", p.58.

ii) "Bulletin Critique", "Toung-pao", 1912, a criticism of Hirth & Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kua*.

iii) G.Ferrand, *Journ. Asiatique*, 1916, pp.521-530.

iv) *Explorations et missions de Doudard de Lagree*, p.10.

prince from Indraprastha who married the daughter of the Nâga-râja.

Finally it may be mentioned that M. Pelliot, in his latest researches on the Chinese texts containing references to the book written by the Chinese ambassador K'ang Tai (who visited Funan in the 3rd century A.D.), seems to come to the conclusion that Kaundinya did not come directly from India but from some place in the Malay Archipelago known to the Chinese as Heng-tie or Mo-fou. This was to the south-east of Yeou-po (Java?) where, according to the Chinese text, "the walled cities, jewels and customs were the same as in India"¹⁾.

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1) Pelliot, Quelques Textes Chinois concernant l'Indo-chine Hindouisée, Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, t.ii, pp. 247-248

II.

CHAPTER II.

F U N A N .

Though the accounts of the Chinese chronicles about the origin of Funan are of a semi-legendary character, they show clearly the impact of a superior civilisation on a primitive people. We have heard of Queen Lieou-ye (the Chinese translate her name as the Willow-leaf) sharing the realm with the stranger Houen-tien (Kaundinya) who worshipped the spirits of the "genii" by which name the Chinese designate the gods of the Brahmanic cult. The time of his coming cannot be later than the first century A.D. as far as we can calculate from the dates of the kings' reigns of his successors to the throne of Funan. This is the period of the first contact with India¹⁾.

The son of Lieou-ye and Houen-tien (Kaundinya) claimed allegiance from the seven towns. But the control of the central power over the vassals seems to have been rather weak, for one of the successors of Houen-t'ien, Houen P'an-houang (the first part of his name shows his descent from Houen-t'ien), succeeded only in reducing the seven towns ~~towns~~ to submission by sowing discord among them. This king certainly reigned in the second century

1) Pelliot, Le Founan is the main authority for this chapter. See B.E.F.E.O., t.iii, p. 248 et seq.

A.D. and he died at the advanced age of 90. His son P'an-p'an entrusted the cares of the state to the general
 1) Fan-man or Fan-che-man and when he died after a brief reign of three years the general was raised to the throne by the people.

It was under Fan-che-man that the power of Funan reached its highwatermark. The History of the Leang says about him :- "He was brave and able and by force he reduced to submission the neighbouring kingdoms. All (princes) were his vassals. He assumed the title of the Great King of Funan. He had large ships constructed and went all over the great ocean and attained ^{ck} more than ten kingdoms. He extended his territory by five or six thousand li. Then he wished to conquer the "Golden Frontier" (probably the Sonaparântā of the Burmese which is derived from the Suvārnabhūmi of the Pali texts which designates the Maulmein-Martaban region (Tha-ton)). But he fell ill. He died shortly afterwards. He seems to have conquered a large part of the Malay Peninsula.

Probably it was during his reign that some of the neighbouring kingdoms became vassal states of Funan. The same Leang annals say :- "On the southern frontier of Funan at a distance of 3000 li there is the kingdom of Touen-sien. There are five kings. All are vassals of

 1) *ibid.* p.265. Nearly all the succeeding kings of Funan are given the title of Fan by the Chinese chronicles. It was also applied to the kings of Champa from about this time.

Funan. . . On its western side it touches India. . . Merchants ^{come} ~~are~~ there in great numbers to transact business. . . This market is the meeting-ground of the east and the west. . . Every day there are in this place more than five thousand persons. . . Rare objects, precious merchandise, everything is to be found there."

Pelliot and Schlegel both think that there was transshipment of merchandise across the isthmus of Kra -- the Chinese junks not yet venturing to go straight from the coast of Annam to the Strait of Molucca. Schlegel proposes to identify Touen-sien with Tenasserim. A country with a name very like it (Tien-souen) and which probably is identified ^{cal} ~~ied~~ with it is mentioned among the realms conquered by Fan-che-man. In another Chinese work there is a reference to this kingdom of Touen-siun. It is mentioned as a dependency of Funan. "More than a thousand Brahmins from India reside there. The people follow their doctrines and give them their daughters in marriage. They read their sacred books day and night"¹⁾

Then another country is mentioned -- Pi-kien beyond Touen-siun and 8000 li from Funan. Pelliot thinks it was ⁱⁿ the Irawaddy region. It is represented as producing gold and golden vessels of enormous size were sent frequently as presents to the king of Funan by the king

1) Pelliot, Le Founan, p.279.

of Pi-kien. This king (of Pi-kien) is supposed to be a supernatural being, holy and omniscient. He knew how to write (books like) Indian texts. The text (written by the king) had 3000 words and resembled the sutras of the Buddha. His subjects however were cannibals.

After the death of the Great King Fan-che-man, which occurred probably about 225 A.D., another general Fan Chan usurped the throne. Fan Chan entered into direct official relations with the kings of India. A certain Kia-siang-li is mentioned by a Chinese book of the 5th century⁽¹⁾ as having come through India to Funan from a country to the west of India. This stranger told Fan Chan about the great wealth of India, the progress the Law had made there and the esteem in which it was held by other countries. He replied to the king's questions that that it was 30,000 li from Funan and that it would take four years to go there and return to Funan. The king's curiosity was roused and he sent as ambassador to India one of his relations Su Wu.⁽²⁾

In the history of the Leang we find :- "From Funanⁿ Su Wu started from the port of Teou-kiu-li (probably Takkola which according to Dr. Blagden and other scholarsⁿ -----

(1) Pelliot, *Le Founan*, p. 277-278 (B.E.F.E.O., J. III)

(2) *ibid.*, p. 292

was on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula to the north of the isthmus of Kra)ⁱ⁾. This shows how far south in the Malay Peninsula the influence of Funan extended. He followed the great curve of the shore towards the north west, entered a great bay on the borders of which there were several kingdoms. At the end of more than one year he reached the mouth of the river of India. He went up the stream for 7000 li and reached his destination. The king of India was surprised and exclaimed "What! there exist ³ such men on the shores of the furthest seas!" He gave an order to show them the interior of the kingdom. Afterwards he sent two persons, one of whom was Chan-tong, to offer in return to Fan Chan a present of four horses of the country of the Yue-che; and he sent back Su Wu and the others. After an absence of four years they came back"ⁱⁱ⁾. This mission from Funan to India took place in the period 240-245 A.D.

At this time when the Emperor of the Wouⁿ dynasty Souen K'iuⁿ (222-251 A.D.) was reigning, K'ang Tai and Chou Ying were sent on an embassy to Funan. This was ⁱⁿ the period 245 - 50ⁱⁱⁱ⁾. They met the Indian Chen-song and asked him about the customs of India^{iv)}. He

i) Prof. Sylvain Levi, Ptolemée, Le Niddesa et La Bynatkatha, Etudes Asiatiques (1925), t.ii, p.4.

ii) *ibid.*, p.271.

iii) *ibid.*, p.303.

iv) In the history of the Leang (Le Founan, p.271) we find that during the reign of the emperor Ho (89-105 A.D.) there were several embassies from India which came through Central Asia. Afterwards under Houan-li (147-167) the embassies came by the southern seas.

replied :-

"That is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. In the streets, the markets, the villages, the houses, the inns and in towns one sees bells and tambours of joyous sound, rich dresses and ²fragrant flowers. The merchants come there by land and sea and ~~asse~~ assemble in great numbers and offer for sale jewels and all the objects of luxury which the heart can desire. To the right and left there are six great kingdoms, those of Kia-wei (Kapilavastu), Che-wei (Cravasti), etc. Several kingdoms, even though situated at a distance of 2000 or 3000 li from India, obey the king, as they consider this kingdom to be situated in the centre of the universe."¹⁾

The description of the kingdom or the title of the king does not give anything which can be exactly identified. The only word which phonetically corresponds

1) Prof. Sylvain Levi on Les Murundas in "Melanges, Charles de Harlez", p. 176 - 185.

closely to Meou-loun, according to Prof. Sylvain Levi, is the name of a race in ancient India -- the Murundas. Ptolemy places the Maroundai on the left bank of the Ganges to the north of the river Sarabos or Sarayu. Prof. Levi quotes a Jaina work which names Pataliputra as the residence of the Murunda- rāja. This agrees with Ptolemy's description. The name of the Murunda dynasty is found in the dynastic lists in the Purans. There were 13 princes belonging to this dynasty and the Vayu Purana states that they ruled 350 years. A Jaina saint cured a Murunda king in the first century A.D. and the Murundas are mentioned as vassals in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta¹⁾.

Such was the single official relation between India and Indo-China.

When the Chinese ambassadors K'ang Tai and Chou Ying reached Funan King Fan Chan was already dead. This was about 245 A.D. In 243 A.D. the king had sent an embassy to China with a present of musicians, etc.ⁱⁱ⁾ After a bloody civil war following on Fan Chan's death, the general Fan Siun had ascended the throne. The Chinese ambassadors remarked to him :- "The kingdom indeed is beautiful but it is strange that ^{the} men are so indecent". They had found that the men had no clothing though the women wrapped themselves³.

1) As in Hemachandra's dictionary the Murundas are mentioned as inhabiting Lampaka (Laghman). Prof. Levi thinks that ^{they} were originally inhabitants of Afghanistan. The Tibetan Tārānatha mentions a Murunda mountain near Chitral (Udyāna).

ii) Le Founan, p.303.

in something like a sheet. Fan Siun then issued an order that the men should not go about naked. K'ang Tai, the head of this mission, wrote a book about what he had seen or heard of more than a hundred kingdoms. On his account is based the information transmitted from historian to historian as regards the early history of Funan. It is said from the date of this embassy (245 - 250 A.D.) that we get an approximate chronology of the early kings of Funan. Unhappily this book of K'ang Tai has disappeared.

There is a description of the country of Funan in the history of the Tsin dynasty (265 - 419 A.D.) which is certainly based on K'ang Tai's book :- "The territory is 3000 lis in width. There are walled cities, palaces and houses. The men are ugly and black and their hair is curly (frisé). They go about naked and bare-footed. They are simple people and do not steal. They resort to agriculture. Besides they are fond of engraving ornaments and of chiselling. Many of the utensils which they use for taking their meals are of silver. Taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. They have books, archives, etc. Their alphabet resembles that of the Hou (a Central Asiatic tribe which had the Indian alphabet). Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are on the whole the same as in Lingyi (Champa)¹⁾

1) Le Fouan, p. 254.

Fan Siun's reign was a long one. He sent an embassy ^{A.D.} in 287. He made an alliance with Champa. For when the Emperor wanted to reduce the military expenditure on the southern frontier, the Governor of Tonkin sent a memorial (in 280) protesting that Lingyi (Champa) and Funan were neighbouring countries, that their tribes were very numerous, that they assisted one another and that they did not submit to China.

After Fan Siun there is a blank ^{of} more than 50 years. Probably it was a period of anarchy as we find in 357 the "Indian" Chan-tan (Chandana) "calling himself king", sending an embassy to the Imperial Court. The embassy offered a present of tame elephants. But by an Imperial decree the elephants were returned as it was feared that they might cause harm to the subjects of the Emperor. After this there was no embassy from Funan till 434 A.D.

Meanwhile however a great change had taken place in the kingdom. The History of Leang (502 - 556) mentions a tradition which the Chinese must have heard in the fifth century. "Kaundinya, a Brahman of India, heard a supernatural voice calling to him : "You must go and reign in Funan". Kaundinya rejoiced in his heart and reached P'an P'an which is to the south. The people of Funan heard of him; the whole kingdom was stirred

with joy; they came to him and chose him king. He changed all the rules ~~SANSKRIT~~ according to the methods of India." As this Kaundinya is named as a successor of Chandana, who sent an embassy in 357, and as a predecessor of the king who sent the next embassy in 434, he probably came from India to Funanⁿ towards the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century.

The history of the Song (420 - 478) mentions a king Che-li-pa-mo (pa-mo at least can be identified with Varman) who was in frequent diplomatic relations with China from 434 onwards. Probably it was he who refused to aid with his troops the King of Champa who invoked his help ^{for an attack} he had planned on Tonkin.

The History of the Southern Tsi (479 - 501) gives us much more information about one of his successors. It states :- "About 478 the king of Funan had for his family name Kaundinya and for his personal name Jayavarman (Cho-ye-pa-mo). He sent merchants to trade in Canton. On their return voyage the Indian monk Nāgasena joined them to return to his country. But a gale forced them to land in Champa (Linyi) where they were robbed of everything. Nāgasena was however able to cross over to Funan."

"In 484 A.D. Jayavarman sent the Indian monk Cākya Nāgasena to present a memorial (in the Imperial court) which began with a panegyric of the Emperor as one of the patrons of Buddhism, in whose empire the Law

flourished more and more. It stated that a subject of the King of Funan had fled to Champa, had conquered the country and was in open revolt against his former sovereign. The memorial goes on "Shall a rat occupy the lion's throne ? I request that troops may be sent to overthrow the wicked rebel"¹⁾

Presents were sent to the Imperial court among which was a gold model of the throne of the serpent-king (Nâga-râja).

Nâgasena, on arriving at the Chinese capital, ~~that~~ said that the cult of the god Maheçvara flourished in his country. The god had his perpetual abode on Mount Motan where auspicious trees grew in great abundance. From this hallowed place the might of the god descended on the earth and all the people were quiet.

After this eulogy of Maheçvara Nâgasena passes on quite abruptly to talk of ^ABodhsattva :- "Originally of humble origin since he (the Bodhisattva) manifested a heart worthy of bodhi he has reached the stage which the two vehicles cannot attain". "The fruits (of his piety) have liberated the masses from worldly ties (saṃsâra). . . The reforming influence of the Buddha extends over the regions, there is not one who does not

1) The chronicles which refer to Lingi (Champa) describe this usurper as a son of the King of Funan.

receive his aid".

The Emperor replied :- "Yes, Manegvara manifests his marvellous power and confers his gifts on that country (Funan). Though these are foreign customs I praise them from far off with profound joy". The request of the king of Funan for military aid was transmitted to a tribunal for disposal but we find that nothing came out of it.

Then the History of the Southern Tsi gives a paragraph on the people and customs of Funan :- "For merchandise they have gold, silver and silks. Persons of high family dress themselves in brocades. . . . The people make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees for making their houses. The king lives in a pavilion of several storys. The people live in houses raised from the ground. . . . When the king goes out he rides on an elephant. . . . For the sake of amusement they make cocks and pigs fight. They have no prisons. In cases of dispute golden rings and eggs are thrown into boiling water and they have to be taken out by the culprit who will be unharmed if innocent". Other forms of trial by ordeal are also described.

According to the History of the Leang (502-556) in 503 A.D., after receiving another embassy from Jayavarman^{man} an Imperial order was issued :- "The king of Funan, Kaundinya Jayavarman, lives in the extreme limits of the

ocean. From generation to generation he and his ancestors have governed the distant countries of the South. And their sincerity is manifest even from a distance. . . . It is fit to show in return some favour and to confer on him a glorious title. This can be done by the title of General of the pacified South, King of Funan".

Then the religious and funeral ceremonies of the people are described :- "They adore the genii of heaven. Of these divinities they make images of bronze; some of them have two faces and four arms, others have four faces and eight arms. In each hand something is held. . . . For mourning the custom is to shave the beard and the hair. There are four methods of disposal of the dead : (1) throwing the dead body into a flowing stream, (2) burning it to ashes, (3) burying it in the ground, (4) exposing it to the birds".

It was during the reign of Jayavarman that two famous Buddhist monks of Funan went to China to ~~xxx~~ translate the scriptures. Their translations are yet to be found in the (Chinese) Tripitaka¹⁾ One of them was of the name of Sanghapâla or Sanghavarman. He came to China in a junk. As he knew several languages the Emperor Wou of the Leang dynasty ordered him to translate sacred

1) (Nanjo, Catalogue, Appendix II, Nos. 101 & 102, quoted in Le Founan, p. 284, 285.)

books ^{from} ~~for~~ 506 to 512 A.D. in five different places one of which bore the name of the Office of Funan. He died in 524. The other monk from Funan was Mandra or Mandrasena. He arrived at the Chinese capital in 503 and afterwards was commanded by the Emperor Wou to collaborate with Sanghapâla in the work of translating the scriptures. But he could never acquire a good knowledge of the Chinese language.

"Jayavarman died in 514 A.D.", says the History of Leang, "Rudravarman, the ^{son} ~~son~~ of a concubine, after slaying his younger brother (the son of the real queen) usurped the throne. He sent several embassies. . . In 539 A.D. he sent information to the Imperial court that in his country there was a long hair of Buddha. By an Imperial order a monk was sent in search of it".

The History of So^uchei (589 - 618) contains a brief reference to Funan and the first mention of Chenla (the Chinese name for Kambuja) :- "Chen-la is south-west of Linyi (Champa). It was originally a vassal state of Funan. The family name of the king is Kshatriya, his personal name is Citrasena. Under his ancestors this kingdom became more and more powerful. Citrasena reduced Funan to submission. His son Içân^usena succeeded him. He lived in Içanapura"¹⁾.

1) Le Founan, p. 272.

The New History of the T'ang (618 - 906) is the last official chronicle which mentions Funan. It says that the capital of Funan, Tomu, was suddenly seized by Chen-la and that the king of Funan had to withdraw further south to the town of Na-fou-na (Navanagar?). The last embassy from Funan came to the court of a T'ang Emperor during the first half of the 7th century. It brought a present of two white men who belonged to a country west of Funanⁱ⁾. After this Funan seems to have been merged in the new Khmer kingdom.

I-tsing, who travelled in these regions during 671 - 695 A.D., writes :- "Leaving Champa and going toward the south-west the country of Pa-nan is reached. Formerly this was called Funan. In ancient times it was the country of the naked men. The people worshipped many Devas. Then the law of Buddha prospered and expanded. But at the present time a wicked king has completely destroyed it and there are no more monks"ⁱⁱ⁾.

This is all that we know of Funan. The name Funan itself may have been derived from the Khmer word Phnom or Bhnám which means a hill. We shall see later on the importance attached to sacred hills in Kambuja. And the country was often called by the name of its capital

i) *ibid.*, p. 274.

ii) I-tsing, ed. by Takakasu, p. 10.

as Kambuja was in its early days known as Içanapura or Bhavapura. It is quite likely that the capital of Funan with its sacred hill (Nâgasena does mention a hill Motan sacred to Meneçvara) lent its name to the country.

Finally it may be noted that the title Pan or Fan given by the Chinese to the kings of Funan (it is also applied to the kings of Champa) is possibly ^{the} phonetical equivalent of the Sanscrit title Varman.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY KINGS OF KAMBUJA.

After Kambu, from whom the name of the country has been derived, the earliest king from whom the kings of Kambuja trace their descent is one Çrutavarman. Thus in the eleventh stanza of the inscription of Baksei Camkron, ^(Çakana) which is dated 869 *c.e.*, (947 A.D.) and which gives a long genealogy going back several centuries occurs the passage: "Honour Kambu ^Çayambhuva endowed with an eminent glory, whose celebrated lineage, ~~making~~ bringing about the alliance of the solar and the lunar race, dissipates the obscurities of all the Çâstras. . ." In the twelfth stanza is the eulogy of Mera "the most glorious of Apsaras" whom Hara gave for wife to the great sage Kambu. The 13th stanza states: "Those who bear the burden of the land of Kambu and who have Çrutavarman for root (Çrutavarman-mūla), ^{ing} boasted of having delivered the native (or original) country from the chains of tribute, . . shine like incarnations of the long-armed Hari". This delivering from the chains of tribute probably refers to the throwing off of the yoke of Funan. The next two stanzas continue the panegyric of the descendants of Çrutavarman. In the 16th stanza we find that to this ~~first~~ first dynasty succeeds ~~and~~ another series of kings having Rudravarman as the chief of

their branch. They are described as deriving their origin from Kaundinya and Somâ (the daughter of Soma)ⁱ⁾.

The inscription of Ta-Pronmⁱⁱ⁾ dated 1108 ç.c. (1186 A.D.), also mentions Çrutavarman as the father of Çreshthavarman the sovereign (adhirâja) of Çreshthapura. In the 6th stanza we find :- "He was a king whom the lords of the earth, bearers of the unbreakable sceptres of Manu, should honour, excelling among the learned, the son of Çrutavarman : ~~Çreshthavarman~~ ^(by name) Çreshthavarman, excelling in pure glory & by name. . . the source of a brilliant line of kings". The next stanza gives :- "The ^uson of the heaven which is the ~~same~~ family of Kambu, born on the mountain Jayâdityapura, as the sun rises from Udayagiri, he, ^(Çreshthavarman) caused the hearts of all living creatures to wake up as (the sun awakens) the lotus, he who is full of spirit and energy, the supreme king of Çreshthapura"ⁱⁱⁱ⁾. In the eighth stanza is the account of the Princess Kambuja -- râja-lakṣmi, "born in the maternal family of this king, where her fame shone like moonbeams on the sea waves, the first among the chaste women, whose splendour was like (or who reigned like) that of Lakṣmi herself". In the 9th stanza Bhavavarman is mentioned, "the lord of Bhavapura, with effulgent glory illuminating the universe, versed in all the arts, like the moon driving away the

i) ed. by Coedes, J.A. May-June, 1909.

ii) ed. by M. Coedes, B.E.F.E.O. (Jan-June), 1906.

iii) This Çreshthapura seems to be then the place of origin of the solar dynasty, i.e. of the Kambuja kings (as distinguished from the monarchs of Funan). From the inscription

see foot of next page

heat (misery) from which his subjects would have suffered—
he who was the founder of a line of kings."

Grutavarman and Āreṣṭhavarman are known to us only by name. We know nothing else about them. Rudravarman and Bhavavarman are however quite familiar to us from many sources and it is with them that the history of Kambuja really begins. The inscription of Ang Chumnik (I.S.C.C., p.66), dated 589 c.c. (667 A.D.), and which is one of the ^aearliest dated inscriptions, gives a series of five kings who ruled one after another. The names of the kings are : Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman, Iṣanavarman and Jayavarman. The inscription mentions that two brothers Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha were court physicians of King Rudravarman. The sons of their sister, Dharmadeva and Simhadeva were ministers of Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman. Simhavira, the son of Dharmadeva, was the minister of Iṣanavarman. Simhadatta, the son of Simh^{ha}vira was the physician of Jayavarman and was the governor of Ādhyapura (the old name of Ang Chumnik). It was the last who dedicated a

*contin. from the
 foot of last page* -----
 of Vat Phu (B.E.F.E.O., xv, II, p.107) we learn that Vat
 Phu was in the district (viṣaya) of Āreṣṭhapura. Therefore
 Āreṣṭhapura (and the original Chenla) was in the north.
 Vat Phu being near Bassac in Laos north-east of present
 Cambodia.

temple to Ġiva Viġayeġvara at this place and who was the author of this inscription.

Now from Chinese sources we know that Rudra-varman was one of the last kings of Funan, that Citrasena of Chenla reduced Funan to submission and that Iġanasena was his successor. The inscription of Phou Loknonⁱ (Lavo) tells us that Citrasena was the earlier name of Mahendra-varman before he ascended the throne. An early inscrip-
 ii
 tion (without date) gives us the name of Citrasena as having dedicated a Ġiva-linga on the bank of the Mekong. We know from an inscription of Vat Chakretⁱⁱⁱ that Iġanavarman was reigning in 626 A.D.

So far the Chinese accounts and the information we can derive from the inscriptions of Kambuja tally. There is no mention however of Bhadravarman, the predecessor and elder brother of Citrasena (Mahendravarman), in the Chinese annals. This probably can be accounted for by the fact that the Chinese only came into direct contact with Chenla during the reign of Iġanavarman the son of Citrasena. Citrasena was perhaps the commander-in-chief of the army of his elder brother Bhadravarman in the war which led to the subjugation of Funan by Chenla and this might have led the Chinese historians to think of him as the son

 i) B.E.F.E.O., t.3, p.445.

ii) *ibid.*, p.212.

iii) I.S.C.C., p.40

conqueror of Funan. We know from an inscription⁶¹⁾ that Bhavavarman came to⁺ power by force of arms and from another that he was not the descendant of his immediate predecessor Rudravarman but was the son of Viravarman who does not seem to have reignedⁱⁱ. As the inscriptions of Bhavavarman have been found scattered over a wide area and as some of them manifest a warlike tone we may conclude that it was Bhavavarman, a prince of Chenla, who became the paramount sovereign after striking a death-blow to the supremacy of Funan.

The inscription of Ta Prohm (12th century A.D.), we have already seen, mentions Bhavavarman as the founder of a line of kings. In the much^c earlier inscription of Ang Chumnik (7th century) Bhavavarman is mentioned as the successor of Rudravarman. In the inscription of Baksei Chamkron (10th century A.D.), which we have also cited, Rudravarman is the chief of a dynastic branch. Pelliot reconciles these statements by the explanation that Bhavavarman, after his conquest of Funan, claimed descent from the royal family of Funan so that officially there was no break after Rudravarman. Even in the most early inscriptions Bhavavarman is mentioned as belonging to the lunar dynasty to which the

 i) I.S.C.C., xi, p. 67, *Wang* 5
 ii) *ibid.*, iv, p. 30.

kings of Funan also belonged. Prof. Coedès thinks however that the Rudravarman of the Baksei Chamkron inscription is not the Rudravarman of Funan of the 6th century, but is a prince of the 8th century who is a founder of a new dynasty (being the grandfather of Indravarman I, King of Kambuja, 877-889 A.D.). This seems to be correct.

Bhavavarman, as we have seen, was of the lunar dynasty but he seems to be connected somehow (probably by a matrimonial alliance) with the Princess Kambuja - Râjalakṣmi, who, according to the inscription of Ta Prohm, was born in the maternal family of King Āreṣṭhavarman, the son of Ārutavarman -- the first king of the solar dynasty of Kambuja. Several inscriptions, engraved during the reign of Bhavavarman, have come down to us but they bear no dates. On paleographical grounds they belong to the 6th century as they are remarkably similar to the inscription of Mangaliṇī at Badāmiⁱ (578 A.D.) and the oldest inscriptions of the temple of Pâpanâtha at Pattaṣaḍalⁱⁱ (both Badami and Pattaṣaḍal are in the present Bijâpur region of Western Deccan) which also belong to the 6th century. As also Iṇavarman, the nephew of Bhavavarman, is known to have been reigning in 616 A.D. and as he is the third prince of the

i) Barth's article "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge", J. As. (1882).

ii) Kern quoted by Barth, p. 12, I.S.C.C.

dynasty founded by Bhavavarman we may safely suppose ~~x~~ that the latter reigned in the latter ~~x~~ half of the 6th century.

There is a very close similarity between the inscriptions of Bhavavarman and the oldest Javanese inscriptions of Purnavarman (of western Java) and the Kutei inscriptions of King Mulavarman of Borneo. All these have no dates but Bhavavarman's inscriptions seem to be later than those of W. Java and Borneo ⁱ. A few common characteristics may be noted here. Frequently the "b" and "v" are not distinguished from one another. In the later inscriptions "b" disappears altogether. After "r" a consonant is often repeated, but when etymologically there should be a repetition of the consonant we generally find a single consonant (e.g. patra, chatra, etc.). The guttural "ñ" is frequently substituted for the anuṣvara, especially before s and ṣ. Th and ḍ are not distinguished from th and d. The ~~jñ~~hvāmūlya and the upadhmanya are used only in the earliest inscriptions. With these exceptions orthographical mistakes are rare ⁱⁱ.

The language of the Kambuja inscriptions is generally quite correct classical Sanscrit. There are also Khmer inscriptions which are of less importance as generally they only give details ^{for} of the information of the

- i) Vogel, Inscr. of Mulavarman (Bijdragen tot de taal-land- . . . van Nederlandsch Indie, 1918)
 ii) I.S.C.C., pp. 3-5.

common people.

As regards technique the Kambuja inscriptions excel in symmetry, artistic taste and clearness the inscriptions of India. They have made a regular fine art of it especially under Yaçovarman of the 9th century. The inscriptions of Champa and Java also cannot compare with them in this respect.

To return to Bhavavarman, the inscription of Phnom Bantea Neang (in Battambang which was till quite recently an eastern province of Siam) found on a stone pedestal⁷ a Çiva-linga, which has now disappeared, may have been engraved by the order of the king himself. It is one of the shortest of the inscriptions and breathes a martial spirit¹ :- "With the offering of treasures won by the might of the ~~king~~ bow this linga of Tryambaka has been consecrated by the king Çri-Bhavavarman who holds the two worlds in his hands". This is the westernmost point where an inscription of this king is found and taken together with other inscriptions found far to the south and to the north it indicates a wide extent of territory governed by him. Contemporary Chinese chronicles also tell us of the subjugation of neighbouring kingdom² by Kambuja.

The inscription of Veal Kantel¹¹ (found in Tonle

1) I.S.C.C., p. 28

11) I.S.C.C., p. 30.

Ropon -- another province possessed by Siam up to our own times) is another contemporary record. Only the last three lines now are intelligible and as it is important from a historical and literary point of view we shall translate here the seven couplets which have survived :-

"There was the daughter of Çri-Viravarman, the sister of Çri-Bhavavarman, who, devoted to her husband and to the religion, was like a second Arundhati (the wife of Vaçistha). He, ^{who} took for his wife this (lady), the mother of Hiranyavarman, the moon among Brahmans, an Ākriti svāmi (i.e. master of some Çaiva ritualistic system),... the foremost of those who are versed in the Sāmavada -- he, Çri-Somaçarman, consecrated (this) Tribhuvaneçvara (Lord of the three worlds -- Çiva) together with (an image of) the sun with acts of worship and offerings of a grand scale. With the Rāmāyana and the Purāna he gave the complete (Mahā)Bhārat and arranged for a daily recitation without interruption. As long as the glory of Tribhuvaneçvara survives, whoever ⁱ (participates in this reading) -- may a portion (of the fruit) of ~~af~~ this great and virtuous deed go to (the credit of) every doer of such a pious act. But the mischevous wretch, ^{who} takes away from here even a single book. . . ." ii.

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- i) This portion is illegible.
 ii) The rest is missing.

Here a Kṣatriya princess, the sister of King Bhavavarman, is found married to a Brahman and the offspring is a Kṣatriya. In India such intermarriages, though theoretically possible, were very rare in practice.¹ Then the mention of the daily recitation of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata (the Purana unfortunately is not named) in an Indo-Chinese inscription of the 6th century is very interesting. Lastly it may be noted ^{that} no ruler of the name of Viravarman, Bhavavarman's father, has yet been found in any chronology, so probably Viravarman never reigned.

The badly damaged inscription of Ponhear Hor¹¹ (in Treang -- the southernmost part of Cambodia) was composed by a local magnate who had served two princes, both whose names have been effaced, but one of whom certainly was Bhavavarman as this king's name is mentioned towards the end. As many different divinities

1) Some "anuloma" marriages are however mentioned in the Indian epigraphy, e.g. in the Mandasaur inscription (Corp. Ins. Ind., iii, p.152) a Brahman marries a Vaishya and one of his sons is a viceroy in the Narvada province of King Yaçodharman. In the Arch. Sur. Re. Western India (Vol. IV, p.140) we find that the ancestor of Hastibhoja, a minister, was a Brahman who married a Kshatriya wife. But the offspring of these marriages belonged to the caste of their fathers, whereas in Indo-China they seem to belong to the caste of their mothers. Among the Nairs however the offspring of Nambudri Brahmans and Nair women are considered as Nairs and not Brahmans.

11) I.S.C.C., p. 24.

of the Hⁱndu pantheon are mentioned in it, it is quoted here as far as possible (a large part of the inscription being illegible) :- "The servant of these two (kings) add by their grace the sea^a into which (the rivers) of their favours entered ---- by the grace of the former (he received) a gold-tipped umbrella ... this dense forest infested by tigers... The lord of Pasenga (i.e. this courtier) consecrated a Çiva-linga. . . By the favour of the second (king) (he received) a golden jar and vase. . . He consecrated an image of Durgâ and of Çambhu-Vishnu. . . a linga having the lustre of gold. . . Ten years having passed (he consecrated) an image of Trailokyasâra (the Essence of the Worlds -- Vishnu). . . Thus were given by this person, through the favour of his masters, he who possessed knowledge and the ^{peace which} knowledge ~~which~~ brings. . . . May he (who robs) what has been given be thrown into the well up to the day of destruction of all things animate and inanimate (pralaya). . . (on the) 13th, the spouse (Lakṣmi?) of Vimalasana (Vishnu?) . . . was established here, on an image of Vishnu . . . (was consecrated) to the Lord (Çiva) of Dhanvipura by the king Çri-Bhavavarman. The last line mentions again Vishnu Çri-Trailokyasâra.

Now we come to one of the most archaic (on paleographical grounds as showing the closest resemblance to Indian prototypes) and at the same time one of

the most interesting inscriptions -- that of Han Chey ~~discovered~~ discovered near a vast group of ruins called Phnom Bacheh. It does not show the perfect symmetry and elegant finish which generally characterises Kambuja epigraphy. The composer is the lord of Ugrapura in the service of Bhavarman and the occasion is the consecration of a Çivalinga with the name of Bhadreçvara. The style is strongly reminiscent of that of Kalidasa. It shows literary skill ~~as~~ well above the average found in the inscriptions. It begins with¹ an invocation to Çiva :-

"Victory to the moon-crested (god), who on his ~~head~~ head receives the Ganges, the waves of which, (their impetuosity) checked by the frowns of Uma, form a garland ~~of~~ (of Çiva). "

"The king Çri-Bhavavarman was the lord of the ~~ruins~~ rulers of the earth, invincible and magnanimous, sublime like another Meru. Born in the race of Soma (the moon) (effulgent) like the moonlight (reflected) in the sea, his^s spirit always shone like that in the battlefield. When the six enemies (the six senses), which are within (us), unappeaseable, without physical form and therefore beyond human powers (of control), have been conquered by him -- nothing need be said of external enemies. . . .

1) I.S.C.C., pp. 13-14.

When in autumn he set out^o on his campaigns in all his glory, his might, surpassing that of the sun, could not be resisted by his enemies. The dust(raised)by his army , settling down on the cheeks of the women of the enemy, from which all decoration had vanished (on account of mourning), looked like sandal powder¹ . . . It would have been superfluous indeed to set fire to the walls of the city besieged by (him with) his flaming energy. . . Having conquered the kings of the mountain his glory spread over all the directions of the earth with (the aid of) bards (singing his praises) and the army of his virtues (or he made the world full of arts by means of bards equal in number to his virtues). In his person the royal race of Aida (Aila or Purūravas) surpassed itself as with his exploits it went beyond the limits of this earth. Having first conquered the ocean -- girdled earth by force, in his administration, he conquered it a second time by his mild forbearance. . . The rays of the jewels of the crowns of kings (prostrate before him) give lustre indeed to his feet but cannot give rise to any pride ⁱⁿ his stainless heart. . ."

After this comes a brief reference to a son of Bhavavarman who probably had a very brief reign as Chinese chronicles, an inscription of Champa¹¹ and the inscription of Ang Chumnik of Kambuja ignore him altogether and mention Mahendravarman (the Citrasena of the Chinese)

1) Cp. Raghuvamśa, stanza 54, Canto IV.

11) Inscr. of Mi-son, Finot, Notes d'epigraphie, p. 132. (B.E.F.E.O.)

as the next king. Then follows an account of the ascetic virtues of the lord of Ugrapura who consecrated the Bhadreçvara. "Giving servants, cattle, land, gold, etc., without exception as the property of the god. The ascetic servants of the gods may alone have authority here. But the relations and the descendants of the donor may not enjoy the property for they have no right to it. . . ." (Stanzas 33-34)

In a second part of the inscription the campaign of Bhavavarman against the mountain chiefs is again referred to and a bridge constructed by him during this campaign at the height of the rainy season over a stream deep enough to drown an elephant is mentioned. He is represented here as having beaten the enemy up to their mountain peaks (stanza 5, p.16).

The reader of the first eighteen stanzas of this inscription cannot fail to be struck by the close imitation of Kalidasa's description of the conquests of Raghu (Canto IV of *Raghuvamça*) Theories of a late date for Kalidasa must be rejected if this Indo-Chinese inscription of the 6th century may fairly be regarded as an imitation of his *Raghuvamça*.

The Champa inscription of Prakâçadharma, dated 579 ç (658 A.D.) and the Kambuja inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç, = 668 A.D.) mention Bhavavarman together with his immediate successors, Mahendravarman and Içanavarman. They both emphasize his military renown and

the Ang Chumnik inscription refers to him as "having seized the kingdom with his own prowess" (Stanza 5, p.67, I.S.C.C.) This serves to confirm our assumption that he was not the legal heir to Rudravarman and that he ascended the throne by force of arms.

His brother Citrasena adopted the name of Mahendravarman on assuming the royal power. The inscription of Phou Lokhowⁱ, found in Laos (further north than any other inscription which we have discussed up to this time) gives us this information :- "(He) who (is)ⁱⁱ the son of Gri-Viravarman and (who is) not inferior in power though the youngest brother of Gri-Bhavavarman, he, named Gri-Citrasena, who possesses all the marks of the great, has chosen the name of Gri-Mahendravarman at his coronation. Having conquered all the country, he has on this mountain established the linga of Giriṣa (Giva) to commemorate his victory". The Giva-linga still survives on the peak.

This inscription (which bears no date) is important as it enables us to identify the Citrasena (Che-to-sseu-na) of the Chinese chronicles, the conqueror of Funan, with Mahendravarman brother and successor of Bhavarman.

The short inscription (which also is undated) of Thma Kreⁱⁱⁱ, found engraved on a great rock in the bed

1) M B.E.F.E.O., t.iii, p. 445.

ii) The first part of the inscription is partially effaced.

iii) B.E.F.E.O., t. iii, p.212.

of the river Mekong between Sambok and Kratie, is probably earlier, as only the name Citrasena is mentioned here:-

"Established by Citrasena with faith in the lord Çambhu and with the approbation of his mother and father may the Çiva-linga be victorious." This must have been done at an early stage in the prince's career before, to quote the History of the Souai, Citrasena (Che-to-sseu-na), king of Chen-la, conquered Funan, which was previously the suzerain of Chen-la". The Chinese must have heard of him through the embassy sent by his son Içânavarman in 616 A.D.

The Champa inscription of 579 ç.e. (658 A.D.) thus refers to Mahendravarman :- The King Bhavavarman, boasting of three (different kinds of) power, who curtailed the warlike pride of a host of rivals flushed with martial ardour, had a brother, a hero on this earth, the destroyer of the proud enemy's ranks, whose spirit extended (the area under) his rule, and whose great power rose like the sun-- this was the illustrious Mahendravarman, equal in might to the king of gods (Indra). He begat a dear son, the source of felicity, just as in the heart of the wise (rises) right conduct -- this was Çri-Içânavarman whose splendour extended to the limits in every direction".

Mahendravarman is also mentioned in the inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç. = 668 A.D.) along with the other kings of this dynasty and there he is

stated to have despatched a Brahman Simhadatta^{eva} as ambassador to the king of Champa as a token of friendship ~~xxxx~~ⁱ between the two princes .

The inscriptions of Bayang which bears two dates, 526 and 546 *g.e.* (604 & 624 A.D.), may have been begun in his reign and finished in the reign of his successor. This inscription, which is the earliest dated one we possess, is distinctly Vedantic in the tone though it commemorates the donation of a Çivapada. Çiva is here identified with the Paramâtman of the Upanishads. As to what is meant by a Çiva-pada (the foot of Çiva) we do not precisely know as ~~xxx~~ several parts of the inscription have suffered damage but probably it was something corresponding to the Vishnupada of Gaya Gya. This symbol of Çiva's footprint is, as far as we know, unknown in India. The artistic skill with which this inscription has been engraved shows a high standard of perfection compared with the earlier undated inscriptions. It begins like this :-

ii) "He whom by the constant practise of correct meditation and a peaceful frame of mind the wise feel as being enthroned (in their hearts). . . the

----- J.S.C.C., p. 67, *Kanya* ?
 i) B.E.F.E.O., xv, p. 136.
 ii) I.S.C.C., pp. 34-36.

inner light whom they worship desirous of attaining supreme Param-bramma (the absolute). The practices of asceticism, of study (of scriptures) and of sacrifice, if devoted to Him, procure results beyond description not only for those who are attached to the fruit of these (pieties) but also ^{for} ~~to~~ those who have renounced the fruit of action and who are detached (from worldly desires). He whose feet, requiring no support, endowed with supernatural qualities, which is (as it were) the shape assumed by diverse (divine) powers, surpasses all thought and speech and is only known to the wise. The foot of that Lord, on account of his grace, has found an abode here, an abode of prosperity, the holy toes illuminated with rays (seeming) like a lotus on this stone. . . . There was the son of a Brahman, the best of the twice-born, Daruva, (who was) the grandson of Daruva-punya-kirtti, who. . . . (by his merits) bears evidence of his (illustrious) parentage. By him of the name of Vidyâdivindvanta, devoted to pious works, (has been consecrated) this Çambhu-pada. . . . By him also in the valley of the mountain hallowed by a sacred stream was (excavated a tank) for the ablutions of the Lord. . . . In the ç. year (526) represented by the rasas (6), the Heavenly Twins (2) and the (five) arrows of (Kama) this foot of the Lord has been surrounded by a brick wall and in (the year 546 designated by) the seasons (6), the seas (4) and the senses (5) the sacred place (tank) was filled with water by him. . . ."

The name or title Vidyâdivindvanta is also unique. It may be translated as "who has Vidya (knowledge - the Vedas) in the beginning and Vindu (the Om - or the knowable) in the end". Barth explains it as "per transitoria ad aeterna". It is a Vedantic name quite in harmony with the Vedantic invocation¹. The mixture of Vedantism with Çaiva doctrines is not very strange when we remember that Çankarâçhârya, the great Vedantist scholar, was also a devout Çaiva. Kalidasa, whose invocations are generally addressed to Çiva, has also begun some of his works (e.g. Vikramorvaçi) with stanzas addressed to the Supreme and ^{the} Absolute. Such philosophical invocations are however rare in Kambuja inscriptions and from this point of view this inscription has an interest of its own. Barth also thinks that it is the first inscription, in Indian epigraphy, to express dates by symbolic words. Prof. Bühler in his Indian Paleography (p.86) states that in India ^{such} word-numerals are used in inscriptions only from the 8th (rather from the 9th) century.

After Mahendravarman his son Içânavarman continued the ~~an~~ warlike traditions of his family. According to Chinese sources to put an end to all possible rivalry he drove his brothers into exile in a secluded

1) The name however may be simply Vidyabindu.

place and allowed them bare ~~exist~~ subsistence. He sent an embassy to China in 616 A.D. According to Hiuén Tsang he resided at Içânapuraⁱ. The Chinese chronicles state that his kingdom included thirty towns and that he had a magnificent court. The Souei Chou (history of the Souei dynasty) thus describes the court of Yi-cho-na Sien (Içanasena) :- "The king sits on a couch adorned with seven kinds of precious stones and perfumed with five sorts of scents. Above that is a canopy supported by columns of precious wood inlaid with ivory and flowers of gold. On each side of the throne a man carries a censor in which incense is burned. The King dresses in purple-coloured silk with embroidered work. He wears a crown decorated with pearls and precious stones and he has ear-rings of gold like a woman. His shoes are ornamented with ivory work."

He maintained the alliance with Champa. The Champa inscription of 579 c.e. (658 A.D.) speaks of a certain Jagatdharma who went from Champa to the city of Bhavapura in Kambuja "where Kaundinya, the bull among Brahmans, had planted the javelin which he had received from Açvathaman, the son of Drona". Then follows the story of the Nâgi and a reference to their descendants

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- 1) Hiuén Tsang, arriving at the mouth of the Ganges, and just before going back the way he came, collected some informations about the kingdoms beyond,-- near high mountains and distant seas. These kingdoms he mentions in the following order : Çri-kṣetra (Arakan), Kama-lanka or Ramanalanka (Ramanya : Pegu), Dvârâvatî (S. Siam), Içanapura (Kambuja) and Mahâchampâ.

among whom Bhavavarman and his brother Mahendravarman are mentioned. Then Iṣanavarman is mentioned as the father of the princess Ḡri-Ḡarvanī "born in the race of Soma destined for an unrivalled prosperity" who is married to Jaḡadharmā of Champa and is the mother of Ḡri-Prakaḡadharmā king of Champa (whose reign included the period 575 ḡ to 601 ḡ.)

Iṣanavarman is supposed to have made extensive conquests and after the embassy of 616 A.D. to have cut off all diplomatic connection with China which was not restored for a long time.

The inscription of Vat Chakretⁱ, dated 548 ḡ. e. (626 A.D.) refers to him as the reigning king. There is a touch of Vedantic philosophy in the invocation :- "May the moon-crowned god be victorious, He who manifests himself through the great development of the (three) qualities, Ḡiva, at the same time the origin (of all), himself being without origin and without endⁱⁱ. The deva Ḡri Iṣanavarman was the master of the earth, the equal of Indra in might. . . By the grace of this king of kings. . . the lord of Tāmrapura who has for a long time made the three cities Cakḡāṅkapura, Amoghnapura and Bhimapura the ornament of his feet. . . by him has

i) I.S.C.C., p.40.

ii) Compare this Vedantic invocation with the invocation to Ḡiva in the inscription at the Seven Pagodas (Burnell - South Indian Palaeography, p.38). Burnell there says: - "The first four lines describe Ḡiva in a way that was only possible after Ḡaṅkara's development of the Vedānta."

been consecrated. . . the two gods, adored by sages Hari and Çankara. . . glaves, cows, buffaloes, land, precious objects. . . (have been bestowed). . . In the Çaka year (548) designated by the Vasus (8), the oceans(4) and the arrows (of Kama - 5). . . having received the royal favour for having thrown into shade the hostile arrogance of the vile lord of Tâmrapura, the (new lord) has consecrated here. . . Çiva united in body with Vishnu." Apparently the donor had newly acquired Tampapura from a hostile chief. The cult of Hari-hara seems to have been popular in Kambuja as there are many images of the combined deities still existing.

The inscription of Svai Chuo¹ (near Phnom Penh) also refers to Içanavarman. It is not dated :- "Victory to the God crowned with the half moon who is the ornament of the naughty diadem of Akhandala (India), who is escorted by Dhâtrî, Nârâyana and millions of Rudras. Victorious also is the glorious sovereign of three kings, the mighty possessor of three cities of extensive fame. . . . Çri Kṛ Içanavarman the master of the earth. . ."

The rest of the inscription refers to the founding of an âçrama by the "venerable" Vidyadeva for those who

i) I.S.C.C., p. 45.

Wish to retire temporarily or permanently.

The inscription of Ang Pou¹, also undated, commemorates the consecration of a Hari-hara and a Vishnu-Candrasekhara¹¹ linga by a Muni Içanadatta during the reign of Içanavarman. The invocation is peculiar :-
 "Victorious are Hara and Acyuta who have become one for the good of the world though as the spouses of Pârvati and Çri they are two distinct powers. Victorious also is Içanavarman famed especially for his heroism who supports the earth like Çesha-Naga. . . The Muni Içanadatta, celebrated for his austerities, his life devoted to poverty and study, and the offspring of an illustrious family, has consecrated this image, in which the bodies of Çiva and Acyuta are joined together half and half, for the welfare of his parents. He has also consecrated a linga of Vishnu and of Içana Candrasekhara -- his decision being that their (of the two deities) worship should be combined by participation in the same offering".

This reference to a linga in which Vishnu and Çiva are combined is something very strange. Though in the inscription of Ang Chumnik (589 ç : 667 A.D.)

 i) *ibid.*, p.49.

ii) Chandrasekhara is also an ancient Çaiva saint of the Tamis.

after Içanavarman Jayavarman is mentioned as the king of Kambuja under whom served as physician Simhadatta the son of Simhavira the minister of Içanavarman — ^aAn inscription deciphered by M. Coedes brings to light a Bhavavarman II who was reigning in Kambuja 561 ç (639 A.D.). Probably as the inscription of Ang Chumnik is directly concerned only with the genealogy of a Brahman family, several members of which ~~are~~ were ministers and only indirectly mentions a series of kings of Kambuja under whom these ministers served, it may not have mentioned this second Bhavavarman under whom no one of that family may have served. Also as the latest date for Içanavarman in the inscription (Vat Chakret) is 627 A.D. and the earliest date of Jayavarman is 665 A.D. (inscr. of Vat Prey Vier) there is ample room for a Bhavarman II between them.

This inscription ¹, which was found deposited in a store-house of the Public Works Office at Phnom Penh, ^{is} is also noteworthy on account of its use of incorrect and barbarous Sanscrit. On this point it resembles certain inscriptions of Champa during its period of decadence. In Kambuja we do not find anything like this especially at such an early period. "There is a king, first of the caste of rulers of the earth who were the descendants of Manu,

1) B.E.F.E.O., iv, 691.

Çri Bhavavarman, who, as he has acquired self-control by austerities....In the Çaka year (561) designated by the face (I), the seasons (6) and the arrows (5). . . (here follows a conjunction of the stars at that time) has been consecrated an (image) of Devi Caturbhujâ (the four-armed goddess). . . Through devotion to Lord Çambhu and for the deliverance of his parents with rites befitting (?) the Devi (the king) has established (this image) on this earth. . " This is all that we know of Bhavavarman II.

After this little known king comes Jayavarman I (of Chenla)ⁱ who is referred to in several inscriptions. The first dated inscription of this prince that of Vat Prey Vier is also the first Sanscrit inscriptionⁱⁱ which contains a mention of Buddhism. It refers to two Bhikshus and does not begin with an invocation to a Hindu deity.

"Victorious is the king Çri Jayavarman. . . to whom the fickle goddess of fortune, Lakshmi, is firmly attached. . . skilful in the task of protecting the world he is proclaimed by sages to be the thousand-eyed god (Indra) in person. While he protected the worldⁱⁱⁱ conquered with large strides (by his predecessors ?) there lived in his kingdom two excellent bhikshus, sons of the same mother.

i) Aymonier, who thinks that Chen-la was simply a later name for Funan, mentions this king as Jayavarman II.

ii) I.S.C.C., pp. 61-62.

iii) Probably this means that Mahendravarman was a peaceful monarch who preserved what his warlike predecessors had won.

Both were receptacles of virtue, knowledge, mildness, patience, compassion, self-control, prudence and were named Rāṇā ^{Bhānu} ~~Bhānu~~ and Rāṇa Simha. The son of the daughter of the sister of these brothers of stainless reputation was the auspicious Ābhakīrtti devoted to pious actions. To him is bequeathed, according to the uninterrupted mode of succession in the family and also by the command of the king, all that his elders (had acquired) by their merits". Then follows the date in ^{symbolic} ~~typic~~ words 586 c.e. (664 A.D.).

In this connection may be mentioned a Khmer inscription described by Aymonier at Vat Prasatⁱ. This is not dated but on epigraphical grounds Aymonier would ascribe it to the 6th or (early) 7th century. It records the gift of slaves by a person named Pon Prajñā Candra to three Bodhisattvas, Sāsta, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara who are given the same title Vrah Kamratān an (lords, gods) as are given to Hindu divinities.

In the final stagesⁱⁱ of an inscription at Ang Chumnikⁱⁱ (not the one we have already cited more than once) Jayavarman is mentioned as "the full moon of the spotless heaven of the lunar race" and is represented as presenting to Giriṣa (Śiva) "a treasure

J.I,

i) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, p. 442.

ii) I.S.C.C., p. 57.

gleaming like the fire". Then one of his officials, the chief of Ādhyapura inaugurates a fair which the inhabitants of the town are invited to celebrate in honour of Ġiva on the third day of the month of Mādhava

Now we come to the inscription of Ang Chumnik to which we have already referred several times (I.S.C.C., pp. 66-68). It gives us, as we have seen, the genealogy of a family several members of which held the post of minister or court physician during the reigns of Rudravarman and his successors up to Jayavarman.

"Invincible like Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) was the king Ġri Rudravarman, whose happy reign is remembered up to this day as that of Dilipaⁱ. In his service, as physician in chief, were two brothers, like the Aḡvins (Heavenly Twins), Brahmadata the elder and Brahmasiḡha the younger. These two had two nephews (their sister's sons) of highly auspicious fortune, Dharma-deva the elder and Siḡhadeva the younger. King Bhavavarman having seized the kingdom with his own prowess, he for whom Ġri Gambir-eḡvara was the fruit of his kingdom which was like the tree fulfilling all desires (i.e. this image of Ġiva was to this king the most cherished object in his kingdom). These two (Dharmadeva and Siḡhadeva) were his ministers, both good advisers, experienced, well versed in the codes of law and political science (artha ḡāstra)ⁱⁱ, (as it were)

i) One of the heroes of the solar race who is also celebrated by Kalidasa in his Raghvaṃsa, Canto I.

ii) This allusion to artha-ḡāstra in an early Kambuja inscription is interesting

spiritual and practical knowledge personified. Afterwards Mahendravarman, the prosperous ruler of the earth, these two were also the ministers -- the instruments (of the royal will) in every thing. The younger, Simhadeva, an expert, was employed as ambassador by the king and was sent to the King of Champa for (strengthening) the friendship (between the two princes). There was a son of Dharmadeva, a lion of his race, named Simhavira. Learned, who to this day drinks with the learned the juice of poetry, he was chief minister of King Gri Içanavarman"¹. After this is mentioned the consecration of two images of Hara Gri Nikameçvara and Hari by Simhavira. Then follows an eulogy of his son in whom "though living in this (impure) Yuga, attached steadfastly to good works, Dharma of the Kali Yuga does not stumble through it has now only one foot left"ⁱⁱ. "The physician of the lion of kings, of the x victorious Jayavarman, he was without pride though he knew all that could be known". Afterwards the king transferred this physician to the service of the brother of his queen mother and recognising his worth made him the governor of Adhyapura (the ancient name of Ang

ii) This allusion to artha çâstra in a Kambuja inscription is interesting

i) I.S.C.C., p. 66-68.

ii) Dharma is represented as a bull which had four feet in the Satya Yuga but which in each succeeding Yuga lost a foot.

Chumnik). It was this Simhadatta who consecrated Sri Vijayaçvara in 589 ç.e. (667 A.D.) at an auspicious moment which is described with a great wealth of astronomical detail and this consecration was the occasion for composing this inscription.

It is probably to this reign that the badly damaged but valuable inscription of Prâsat Prâ That should be ascribed. Its date is about 577 ç. (655 A.D.) It refers to the donation of a Vyâsa-satra (book of Vyasa)¹. As in the preceding line Sambhava-pustaka_m is mentioned this work of Vyasa can only be the Mahabharata -- Sambhava parva being one of the earlier cantos of the epic. The final imprecation, uttered against any future destroyer of the book, is remarkable :- "Let him be in hell as long as there are the sun and the moon". Of course imprecations like this are well known in Kambuja and Java. But the particular words used here "yâvat suryaçca candraçca" distinguish this inscription, according to Prof. Coedes¹, from Indian inscriptions. The expression "candrâditya" exists in the epigraphy of Southern India but there it is exclusively applied to donations or exemptions from tax -- not to curses. The Pallavas and Cholas use this expression

B.E.F.E.O., LXXI,

i) M. Coedes, Etudes Cambodgiennes, 1911

often (but not in connection with imprecations). But such cases are to be seen frequently in the inscriptions of Champa and Java. If it is correct to assume that the employment of such phrases imply a dynastic connection -- their simultaneous presence in the three Indian kingdoms of the Far East is very significant.

CHAPTER IV.

ANARCHY AND FOREIGN DOMINATION.

After Jayavarman I there is a blank in the history of Kambuja for about a century. Only with the accession of Jayavarman II (724 c. 802 A.D.) we are able to resume the thread of our narrative. Chinese annals state that between 713 and 741 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Hsien Tsung, Chen-la (Kambuja) was split up into two states-- Chen-la of the water and Chen-la of the land. The northern portion, with its hills and valleys was called Chen-la of the land and the southern, bordering on the sea and abounding in lakes, was known as Chen-la of the water. The latter was 800 li in extent. The king lived in the city of Pho-lo-ti-pa. Chenla of the land was also called Wen-tan or Pho-leou and was 700 li (in width). During the period 713-755, the king being dead, there came one of his relations to the imperial court. The ambassador was honoured with the title of the "truly patient protector". In the year 779 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Son-toung the viceroy of Chenla of the land, of the name of Pho-mi, came to the Chinese court with his wife and presented eleven tame elephants. Pho-mi was given the grade of "inspector of the palace" and the surname of the "guest of the Empire"¹.

(1829)

1) Abel Remusat, *Nouveaux Melange Asiatique*, pp. 85-86. Abel Remusat here gives a translation of Ma-touan-lin's chapter on Tchinha. It has been translated by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys in his *Ethnographie des peuples etrangeres a la chine*.

Some of the earlier Chinese references to the reign of Içanavarman supply us with interesting information regarding the condition^d of life in Kambuja during the first² ~~sixth~~ half of the 7th century. The capital was Içanapura which contained 20,000 houses. In the centre was a grand hall where the king held his court. There were three cities in which there were several thousands of houses. Each town had a governor whose title was the same as in Linyi (Champa). There were five classes of high officials. when they appear before the king they thrice touch the ground in front of the steps of the throne. The king orders them to mount up the steps and then they kneel with their hands crossed over their shoulders. Then they sit in a circle round the king for discussing state affairs^d. When the meeting of the council is over they kneel down again and take leave. At the gate of the throne room there are a thousands guards in armour armed with lances.

The men are of a small stature and of a dark complexion; but there are women who are fair. The people tie their hair in a knot and wear ear-rings. They are robust and of an active temperament. Their houses and furniture resemble much those of Siam. The right hand ~~and~~ among them is regarded as clean and the left hand as unclean. They bathe every morning and they use twigs of trees for cleaning their teeth. After having read their (sacred) books and recited their prayers they bathe again. Then they take their food. After the meal they

again clean their teeth and recite their prayers once more. In their food they use a good deal of butter, cream, powdered sugar, rice and mill^e of which they make cakes or bread.

When they marry they send only a robe as wedding present to the bride. When the date is fixed the go-between goes before the bride. The families of the bride and bridegroom do not go out (of their houses) for a week. Day and night the lamps are lighted. When the wedding ceremony is over the husband takes his share of the family property and goes to live in a house of his own. On the death of his relations he again takes what is left (of the family property). Otherwise the property goes to the public treasury.

The funeral ceremonies are as follows :- The children of both sexes pass seven days in lamentations, without food and without cutting their hair. The relatives assemble with Buddhist^{as} priests and the priests of Tao (Brahmans) and walk in a procession with chants to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The corpse is burnt on a pyre of aromatic wood and the ashes are kept in an urn of silver or gold. Then the urn is thrown into the middle of a great river. Poor people use urns of baked clay painted in various colours. Sometimes the corpse is exposed on a hill-side to be devoured by beasts.

In the south there are large marshes and pestilential exhalations. Rice, rye and a little mill^u

are produced. . . At the 6th moon there blows a pestilential breeze. For warding off its evil effects sacrifice¹ of swine, white sheep and oxen (?) are offered at the westernⁿ gate of the city. Otherwise the grain would not ripen and the cattle will perish. In approachin^g the capital one comes to a hill named Ling-kia-po-pho. On the top is a temple which is always guarded by 5000 soldiers. To the east of the city is another temple of the spirit named Po-to-li to whom human sacrifices are offered. Every year the king goes himself to offer the human sacrifice at night. This temple is also guarded by a thousand soldiers. There are people who adore the spiritsⁱ. There are many who follow the law of the Buddha and there are many other worshippers of the law of Tao (i.e. the Brahmanic religion). In the houses where travellers stop the Buddhists and the Taoists have their sacred images.

After 617 A.D. commercial intercourse was interrupted¹.

According to the chronicles of the Tang dynasty Chen-la had also another name Ki-mei (Khmer?). It was formerly a vassal state of Funan.

In this country all the houses face towards the East. While sitting people turn towards the same directionⁿ. It is the custom to offer to a guest betel nut, camphor and other perfumes, for here one does not drink in "publié". But inside one's own house, in the absence of

1) These paragraphs are taken from Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, pp.78-83. See also Ma-touan-lin's Meridionaux translated by M.D'Hervey de Saint Denis, p. 480 et seq.

elders of the family, husband and wife (do drink) together. They have five thousand elephants trained for war. The best are given meat to eat.

The evidence of the Chinese chronicles about the splitting up of Chen-la is corroborated by inscriptions of Yaçovarman which are engraved both in North Indiaⁿ and the Kambuja script at the end of the 9th century A.D. These diagraphic inscriptions give us, in connection with the genealogy of Yaçovarman, the genealogies of two ruling families, who, during the same period, reigned, one at Çambhupura to the north and the other at Vyadhapura to the south. Çambhupura (Sambor) would thenⁿ be the capital of Chenla of the land and Vyadhapura (Angkor-Baurey) the capital of Chenla of the water. One of the early princes of Çambhupura was a certain Puṣkarākṣha who was lord of Aninditapura before he became ruler of Çambhupura. He seems to have acquired a great celebrity as he figures in the genealogies of several kings of Kambuja of the 9th century. One of his descendants married the heiress of the Adhirâjas of Vyadhapura from his mother. Rajendravarman's son Mahapalivarman married Rajendradevi the great-granddaughter of the Brahman Agastya who came from Aryadeça (North India) and married a princess of the royal blood. Indradevi, their daughter, was the mother of Yaçovarman¹, the founder of Angkor Thom (Nagara Dham) who ascended the throne of Kambuja in 889 A.I

1) See I.S.C., p. 356, 364.

and the issue of this marriage Rajendravarman seems to have re-established former unity by inheriting Çambhupura from his father and Vyadhapura

This is all that we know of the princes of Çambhupura and Vyâdhapura except what we learn from a much damaged inscription at Sambor (the ancient Çambhupura). (Coedes, B.E.F.E.O., v, 419). The inscription mentions a King Jayavarman "of a family of Brahman's and Kshatriyas" and gives the date of 703 ç. (781 A.D.). It was probably in connection with the consecration of a Vaishnava image (the name of the god has vanished). As Jayavarman I reigned in 589 ç and Jayavarman II came from Java in 724 ç this must be a new Jayavarman. Probably he was one of the local princes of Çambhupura when this inscription has been discovered. This is the only inscription of the 8th century which gives both a date and the name of a king.

During the 8th century A.D. Eastern and Central Indo-China were ravaged by incursions of Malays and Javanese. The Champa inscription of Da Trang (or Yang Tikuh) states that the armies of Java (it is not spelt Yava), coming on board ships, burnt the temple of Çri Bhadrâdhipatiçvara in 709 ç (787 A.D.)ⁱ. An earlier inscription of Champaⁱⁱ refers to the destruction in 696 ç (774 A.D.) of an ancient çiva-linga in the province of Kauthâra by "men born in other countries extremely black and thin, terrible as death, who came on board ships". There had been an earlier raids on the Chinese province of Tonkin in 765 and 767 A.D.ⁱⁱⁱ.

1) I.S.C.C., p. 208.

ii) I.S.C.C., p. 245.

iii) Maspero, Le Royaume du Champa, p. 130.

Kambuja also did not escape from these inroads. And it is from a new quarter, the narrative of an Arab traveller of the 9th century, that we get a dramatic account of it. The Arab merchant Sulayman had travelled in India and China and his accounts, written in 851 A.D., were commented upon by Abu Zaid Hasan about 916. In his description of the kingdom of Zâbaj (which we can now identify with the Çrivijaya kingdom of Sumatra) occurs a passage as follows¹ :-

"According to the annals of Zâbaj there was once upon a time a king of Khmer. Khmer is the country from ~~the~~ which the alo Khmer is exported. It is not an island.... and there is no kingdom which possesses a larger population than Khmer. The people walk on foot. All fermented liquors and (every kind of) debauchery are forbidden there; in the cities and throughout the empire one would not be able to find a single person addicted to debauchery or to fermented drinks. . . . Between Khmer and Zâbaj the distance is from 10 to 20 days (voyage) by sea according to the weather.

It is narrated that there was once a king of Khmer who was young and prompt to act. One day he was seated in his palace which holds a commanding position on the banks of a river resembling the Tigris (the distance between the palace and the sea being one day's journey) and he had his minister with him. He was having a conversation with his minister and they were discussing the kingdom of the Maharaja of Zâbaj, its magnificence and the number of islands it included, when the king said that he had a desire

1) G. Ferrand, L'Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya, pp. 59-61.

which he longed to satisfy. The minister, who was sincerely attached to him and who knew how rash the king was in his decisions, asked him about his desire. The king replied : " I long to see the head of the King of Zâbaj before me on a plate". The minister understood that it was jealousy which had suggested the idea and said : " I do not like to hear my sovereign express such a desire. The peoples of Khmer and Zâbaj have never manifested any hatred towards each other. . . . The kingdom of Zâbaj is a distant island and is not in our neighbourhood. It had never shown any intention of attacking Khmer. No one should hear this and the king should never mention this (desire) to anybody". The king became displeased with his minister and disregarding the advice of his loyal counsel or, he repeated his statement to the generals and other courtiers who were present there. The news flew from mouth to mouth till it spread everywhere and it came to the knowledge of the Maharaja of Zâbaj. He was an energetic sovereign, active and experienced. . . . He called his minister, told him what he had heard and added that he must take some steps in this matter after what the foolish king of Khmer had said in public. . . . Then telling the minister to keep the matter secret he bade him prepare a thousand ships and to man them with as many troops as possible. It was given out to the public that the Maharaja intended to make a tour through the islands included in his kingdom. . . . The King of Khmer did not suspect anything till the Maharaja had reached the river leading to the capital and had disembarked his troops.

The capital was taken by surprise and the King of Khmer was captured. The people fled before the enemy. But the Maharaja had it proclaimed by public criers that no one would be molested. Then he seated himself on the throne of Khmer and ordered the King of Khmer and his minister to be summoned before him. The Maharaja asked the King of Khmer what had made him express such a desire. The king did not reply. Then the Maharaja said: "You wished to see my head on a plate. If you had similarly desired to seize my kingdom or to ravage it, I would have done the same to your country. But as you only intended to see my ^{head} cut off, I would confine myself to subjecting you to the same treatment and then I would return to my country without touching anything else in the Kingdom of Khmer. . . . This would be a lesson to your successors so that no one will be tempted to undertake a task beyond his power". So he had the king beheaded. Then he addressed the minister : "I know well the good advice you gave your master. What a pity that he did not heed it ! Now seek somebody who can be a good king after this mad man and put him on the throne".

Then the Maharaja returned to his own kingdom^{xxx} country without taking away himself or allowing any one else to take anything from Khmer. When he reached ^{he} his capital he sat down on the throne which faces the lake into which the bricks of gold are thrown and had the head of the King of Khmer placed before him on a plate. Then he summoned the high functionaries of his state and told them why he had undertaken the expedition. . . . Then he had the head embalmed and

sent it in a vase to the new king of Kāmar with a letter to the effect that the ^aMharaja had only been forced to act like that on account of the feelings of hatred which the late king had expressed towards him and that this chastisement should serve as a ~~chastisement~~ lesson to any one who would imitate the deceased prince. When the news reached the ears of the kings of India and China, the Maharaja of Zābaj rose in estimation in their eyes."

Now M. Finot thinks on the evidence of the ^{Champa} Chinese inscription of Po-sah¹, that Java and Yavadvipa (^{the} Sanscrit name for Java) mean two different countries as in that inscription the daughter of the sovereign of Java is mentioned as the principal queen (of the king of Champa) and another princess, daughter of the king of Yava, is referred to as coming from Yavadvipa (the island of Java). Luang Prabang in Laos was known as Muang Java but we know from the Champa inscriptions that those who came from Java to ravage the coast of Champa came in ships. The Highlanders of Laos would not come down to the Champa coast in ships¹¹. The identification of Zābaj with Grivijaya in Sumatra (made possible by M. Coedes' researches in 1918) and this story narrated by the Arab traveller Sulayman point to Sumatra as the place they came from. Moreover a Javanese chronicle states that King Sanjaya of

1) Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., iii, p.641.

11) Finot thought (before 1918) that this Java was probably some place in the Malay Peninsula.

of Central Java, in a victorious campaign, overran Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Khmer about the third decade of the 8th century A.D.,ⁱ and we know from inscription of C. Java that the Çailendra dynasty of Sumatra ruled in Java and built magnificent Buddhist temples there in the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. No wonder therefore that Java and Sumatra would be confused by foreigners.

Among the very few inscriptions from the 8th century there is one from Prah That Kvan Pirⁱⁱ which is dated 638 ç. It states that Puşkara had the god Puşkarâkşa consecrated by Munis and eminent Brahmins. Probably this Puşkara is the same as Puşkarâkşa who, we have seen, was the prince of Aninditapura and later on the king of Çambhupura. Another Khmer inscription dated 725 ç., engraved on a gutter at Sambaur, commemorates the donation to Çiva by a queen Jyesthârâyâ among whose ancestors are mentioned Jayendravarman, the queen Nŗpendradevi and the king Çri Indraloka. Probably these were local princes of Çambhupura. The name Çri Indraloka is noteworthy as it is the first posthumous name we have of a kingⁱⁱⁱ The use of these posthumous names for kings becomes quite common from the 9th century A.D.

i) W. Fruin Mees, Geschiedenis van Java (Hindoetijdperk), pp. 21, 22.

ii) B.E.F.E.O., iv, p. 675.

iii) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, vol. 1, p. 305.

Before we come to the reign of Jayavarman II, with whom begins the architectural activity of Khmer, we might briefly discuss the sculpture and architecture prior to the 9th century.

M. Aymonier, who was one of the pioneers in the research on Indo-Chinese antiquities, is of opinion that in Kambuja wood, brick, limonite (feruginous clay) and sandstone were used one after another in the order given here as building materials. The wooden temples and palaces, probably those which the Chinese chronicles have referred to in their earliest notices, have disappeared long ago.

The use of brick goes back, Aymonier thinks, certainly to the fifth century A.D. if not earlier. The oldest towers, which have been discovered, are brick structures. Bricks were used also in the golden period of Khmer architecture, which began with Jayavarman II in the 9th century, but only for buildings of minor importance. The use of sandstone was the characteristic feature of this period ¹.

M. Parmentier, the head of the Archaeological Department of French Indo-China, is of opinion that before the 9th century the form of art in Kambuja was wholly different from that which followed later. The monuments before the 9th century were isolated towers, built with bricks, of simple plan, rectangular, with walls relieved

1) Aymonier, *Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge*, 1920, p. 50.

only by false doors¹. The ornamental details, he thinks, were closely connected with the Pallava art of South India.

M. George Groslier, the conservator of the Musée du Cambodge and the Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens, has got stronger views on this subject. He believes that for the history of Kambuja art and architecture the country should be divided into two parts -- the hilly and backward region of the north and the southern and more refined portion bordering on the sea. The first was Chen-la and the second the headquarters of Funan. The Chinese mention the handicrafts, temples, etc., of Funan but they are silent about similar things in Chen-la. Probably there was nothing worth mentioning there. The monuments of the 7th century, which still survive, show a type which disappears from the 9th century. The sculpture of this early period with its poses, costume, and technique disappears also about the same time. This sculpture and architecture, Groslier thinks, was purely Indian. And this school of architecture and sculpture is found in the south and therefore belongs to the last phase of Funan. The isolated towers of brick, richly sculptured, are Indian and this art imported into a maritime country must have come from another maritime country. It came from Dravidian India¹, and even the details of the architecture of Mavalipuram are reproduced in these Funan antiquities. Whenever this particular type of art may have been imported

1) B.E.F.E.O., 1923, p. 418.

it was never assimilated and it remained a foreign art. Probably Hindu craftsmen directed and helped local workmen. The statues of Buddha, discovered in 1923 in the south (the photos of which M. Groslier showed the writer) preserve the characteristics of the Greco-Buddhist school of Gandhâra. The same arrangement of drapery is to be seen in them. Examples of this particular phase of art are not numerous. There are at the most about sixty of such towers¹.

This purely Indian art, this Greco-Buddhist sculpture, did not have sufficient time, according to Groslier, to take root in Kambuja soil. With the supremacy of Chen-la this phase disappeared. The conquerors from the north disdained the art of the conquered people. Thus Groslier disagrees both with those who think that this early phase was the primitive phase of Khmer art because this was not ~~the~~ primitive as it was ~~it was~~ the full-fledged art of India and with those others who believe in the continuance of the Indian influence in the later more developed period of Khmer art because he thinks that this Indian influence disappeared in the eighth century. In the 9th century there grows up a vigorous school of Indo-Chinese art practically free from foreign influence -- an indigenous product of the soil of Kambuja.

1) Groslier's papers, Sur les Origines de l'Art Khmer, Mercure de France, 1^{er} December, 1924, and a conversation which the writer had with him about the same time.

But the majority of experts do not believe that there was a such a hard and fast division between the art of Funan and the Khmer art. As M. Golubew points out¹, the art of Khmer from its origin to its fullest development never ceased to belong to the great family of Indian or Indianised schools of Art. It moreover followed a line of evolution similar to that in other countries influenced by Indian art.

1) B.E.F.E.O., t. xxiv, p. 583.

CHAPTER V.

JAYAVARMAN II AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Jayavarman II, whose ascension in 724 φ (802 A.D.) marks the close of a very obscure period of the history of Kambuja, is one of the greatest sovereigns of Indo-China. For centuries his name held a conspicuous place in the genealogies of later kings and even now he is the hero of well known Cambodian legends. He is better known by his posthumous name Parameçvara (the Supreme Lord, i.e. Çiva).

The important ^{inscription} of ^{do} Solak Kak Thom ¹ partly in Sanscrit and partly in Khmer which gives us the history of a family, the heads of which held the post of High Priest of Kambuja for several centuries, devotes a considerable number of stanzas (56 - 82; part C of the inscr.) ¹ to the memory of His Majesty Parameçvara :- "This family (of the High Priest) was dwelling in the village of Bhadrayogi in the district (vijaya) of Indrapura. Then His Majesty (man vrah pâda) Parameçvara came from 'Javā' to reign in the city of Indrapura. The sten an Çivakaivalya, venerable and wise guru, became the royal purohita of H.M. Parameçvara. Then H.M. parameçvara left Indrapura and Çivakaivalya came with Kandvârahoma for the royal service. H.M. ordered him to bring his relations and when they came H.M. graciously assigned them land

1) Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, pp. 87-88, B.E.F.E.O., t.xv
Khmer Portion.

and founded there the village of Kuti which he presented to them. Then H.M. Parameçvara reigned in the city of Harinarâlaya, Çivakaivalya also settled with his family in this city.... Then H.M. Parameçvara founded the city Amarendrapura and Çivakaivalya also went to that city to serve H.M. He asked for a plot of land from H.M. near Amarendrapura and sending for his family from Kuti settled them there (in the new land) in the village named Bhavâlaya. . . Then H.M. Parameçvara went to reign at Mahendra-parvata and Çivakaivalya also resided there for serving H.M. Then a Brahman Hiranyadâma, versed in the science of magic, came from Janapada (probably somewhere in India), because H.M. had invited him to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependent on Java and that there might be in the kingdom a cakravarti (paramount) sovereign. The Brahman composed a ritual according to the Vinâçika and consecrated the Kamraten jagat ta râja (Deva râja in Sanscrit). The Brahman recited the Vinâçika, the ~~xxx~~ Nayottara, the Sammoha and the Çiraçcheda (these are Tantrik texts apparently) from beginning to end so that they could be written down and then he taught Çivakaivalya these (books)¹. And he taught Çivakaivalya how to carry on the ritual of the Jagat ta râja. H.M. Parameçvara and the Brahman Hiranyadâma then vowed to employ only the family of Çivakaivalya and no other to celebrate the cult of Jagat ta râja. Çivakaivalya taught this

 1) In another passage of this inscription (Stanza 28^A) it is stated that these four sacred texts constituted the four faces of the "Tumburu".

to all his relations . Then H.M. Parameçvara returned to Hariharâlaya to reign there and the Jagat ta râja was also brought there. Çivakaivalya and his relatives officiated (as priests) as before. Çivakaivalya died during this reign. H.M. Parameçvara died in the city of Hariharâlaya, the residence of jagat ta râja, as the gods resided in all the capitals where the kings took him in the capacity of protector (of the realm) during the reigns of successive sovereigns.

The cult of Jagat ta râja, ^(or râja) or the Deva-râja (Royal God) seems then to have been the official religion of the kingdom and Jayavarman II was its founder. Something very like it was to be found in Champa and in Central Java. From the inscription of Dong-~~son~~ duongⁱ (Champa) it appears that there was a mysterious connection between the god Bhadreçvara (Siva) and the reigning dynasty. In the Canggala and Dinaya inscriptions of Central Java something like the same relation is hinted at. In Kambuja the Royal God was the eternal prototype of the mortal kings -- something like a deification of the royalty . Moreover in Kambuja, Champas as well as in Java we find a Brahman sage playing an important part in this close connection between a Çiva-linga and the ruling dynasty. In the case of Kambuja it is Hiranyadâma, in Champathe rsi Bhṛgu and in Central Java the great sage Agastya. Probably there may be a common origin for thisⁱⁱ.

1) Finot, B.E.F.E.O., iv, p. 83.

ii) Tijdschrift Bat.Gen., Deel lxiv, 1924, article by Dr. Bosch.

Java may have been the centre from which this cult spread and we know that Java got its Agastya cult from Kunjara-Kunja in South India¹.

In Kambuja the cult of the Deva-râja or Royal God led to the Royal Chaplain enjoying a pontifical position. And the Kambuj~~ax~~ hierarchy was established by Jayavarman II. We have seen how the priesthood of the Royal God became hereditary in the family of Çivakaivalya and we shall see the immense power wielded by his descendants later on. The sacerdotal dynasty almost threw the royal dynasty into the shade.

As to how Jayavarman II came from Java and what were his claims to the throne of Kambuja we do not know anything. Was Kambuja a tributary of Java (or of the Sumatran kingdom of Çrivijaya which at this time had extended its sway over Central Java) at the close of the 8th century? Had Jayavarman, a prince of the Kambuja royal family, been carried away as a prisoner to Java in his childhood? The Khmer portion of the inscription of Sdok Kok Thom does mention that Jayavarman invited Hiranyadâma to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependant on Java. Probably Jayavarman II was not directly related to the royal family of Kambuja. The inscription of Phnom Sandok says of Jayavarmanⁱⁱ :- "For the prosperity of the subjects, in this perfectly pure royal race, the great lotus (stalk) which had no connection with the soil, he (Jayavarman II) rose like a fresh

1) Canggala inscription of Central Java of 654 ç.

ii) I.S.C.C., p. 343. *Nanya* 8

lotus". It might mean that the old royal family had become extinct before Jayavarman's accession. From the diagraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman it appears¹ that Pushkarākṣa, the lord of Aninditapura who had obtained ~~from~~ ^{from} the king of Çambhupura, was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II. Probably Jayavarman himself belonged to Çambhupura where four relations of his, as we learn from the Khmer inscription of ~~xxx~~ Tñol Kōk Prasat (Sambor)⁽²⁾, constructed the gates of the temple of the Lord (Çiva) of Çambhupura. The only instance of a posthumous name of a king ~~is found~~ before Jayavarman II is found in the case of a prince of Çambhupura of the 8th century. With Jayavarman II posthumous names of the kings of Kambuja became quite the fashion.

The inscription¹¹ of Muni Çivaçakti (containing the date 815 ç.), which gives the genealogy and the works of piety of another matriarchial family related to the royal dynasty through Kambuja-lakṣmi, the queen of Jayavarman II, refers thus to this sovereign :- "There was a king Jayavarman whose command was placed on the head (as it were an ornament) by rulers prostrate before him, who was invested with a radiant splendour by the goddess of victory. Bearing in his four arms the immovable earth (this sentence which has a double meaning can also be rendered : king in the year¹ designated by four, the two arms, and the mountains (7) --

1) I.S.C.C., p. 364, *Manuscript 2*

2) Aymonier, *Cambodge*, I, p. 307.

ii) I.S.C.C., p. 534.

it.
724 ç) like another Viṣṇu, the god with four arms, knowing the four Vedas like a Brahma (the god with four faces) come down on earth. His queen was Kambuja-lakṣmi (the goddess of the fortunes of Kambuja) who was also known as Prāṇa (life)-- the younger sister of an ancestor (whose name has been effaced) of the Muni Çivaçakti who was the author of this inscription). . . "Then the brother of the queen, Viṣṇu-vala, is mentioned as the keeper of the private purse of the king. A certain Hyancandra (a very strange name for a female) is mentioned as the wife of a noble Nadh (a Khmer name) who when he became the head of the army received the title of Çri Nripendra-vijaya. Another Pranava-çarva had charge of the cooking of the offerings in sacrifices. Çivâtman looked after the royal bedchamber. A host of other names are mentioned-- apparently relations of the queen and ancestry^s of Çivaçakti-- some of these being distinctly indigenous, such as Pon, Pan, Av, An (feminine names) while others are ~~Vaiṣṇava~~ Vaishnavite like Govinda, Kriṣṇapâla, Puruṣottama, etc. Sâma^s/veda occurs as the name of a person.

The inscription of Phnom Sandokⁱ, inscribed during the reign of Yaçovarman in 817 ç by a disciple of the sage Somaçiva at Çivapura, contains in its ^{second} sacred part an eulogy of Jayavarman II. "There was a paramount sovereign of kings, Çri Jayavarman, to whose toes the radiant jewels of the diadems of prostrate kings gave an increased lustre. For the welfare of the subjects, in this perfectly pure royal xas

i) I.S.C.C., p. 343.

race, the great lotus (stalk) which had no connection with the soil, he rose like a fresh lotus. Maidens when they saw him, said (to themselves) -- "My eyes, you may remain closed-- this auspicious person shall not leave my mind for an instant". Nothing could serve as a comparison of his beauty, as there is some drawback or other (in all things which could be compared), the ~~new~~ moon e.g., though like his face, is enveloped by Râhu (suffers eclipse and thus cannot be really compared with him). The earth girdled by the oceans is not too heavy for his arms -- even as his death-dealing bow-string suffices to humble the rulers of the earth. ^{He} whose seat is on the heads of lions, whose orders are laid on the heads of (vanquished) kings, whose capiatl is on the head of Mahendra mountain and yet who feels no pride". The last stanza which contains a short extract from Pânini's grammar has got a double meaning -- in the first sense praising the king's devotion to duty and in the second extolling his consummate knowledge of the rules of Sanscrit grammar. (1) "During ^{his} ~~the~~ reign the king, who was devoted to the duties prescribed for good people was guilty of no negligence in the performance of actions, as if he were a Muni with all his senses under control"¹ (2) "It was on account of the command over words which the king, devoted to duty, had that the prepositions

1) This sentence might also be rendered :- "Under his administration troubles were not produced in the Eastern world just as in the case of the Muni's command over grammar prepositions were placed before the root. . . ."

were joined to the verb and placed before the root, as if he had been the sage (Pāṇini, the grammarian) himself".

The inscription of Prasat Pra Dak (near Angkor) gives us a long genealogy of the kings of Kambuja. It begins with an invocation to the three Buddhist ratnas (jewels -- Buddha, Dharma, Sangha). Then commences the genealogy with Jayavarman II. Then comes another Jayavarman (III), the son of Jayavarman II, the next is Indravarman a distant relation of the last, then Yaçovarman, the son of Indravarman and so on till we come to Jayavarman V (968 - 1001 A.D.). Ten kings are mentioned in this genealogy ⁱ.

In the badly damaged inscription of Prasat Khnat ⁱⁱ one can decipher the name of the god Lokanātha (Buddha) together with that of Jayavarman II. As we shall see Jayavarman, though a Çaiva, paid his homage also to Buddha

M. Finot in the Indian Historical Quarterly Review (Dec., 1925) writes that Jayavarman II was probably a Buddhist at least in the beginning of his reign. Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeçvara. Jayavarman II reigned 67 years (724-791 ç) for the Kmer inscription of Nea Ta Bak Ka ⁱⁱⁱ states that his successor ascended the throne in 791 ç (869 A.D.)

During this long reign Jayavarman built three

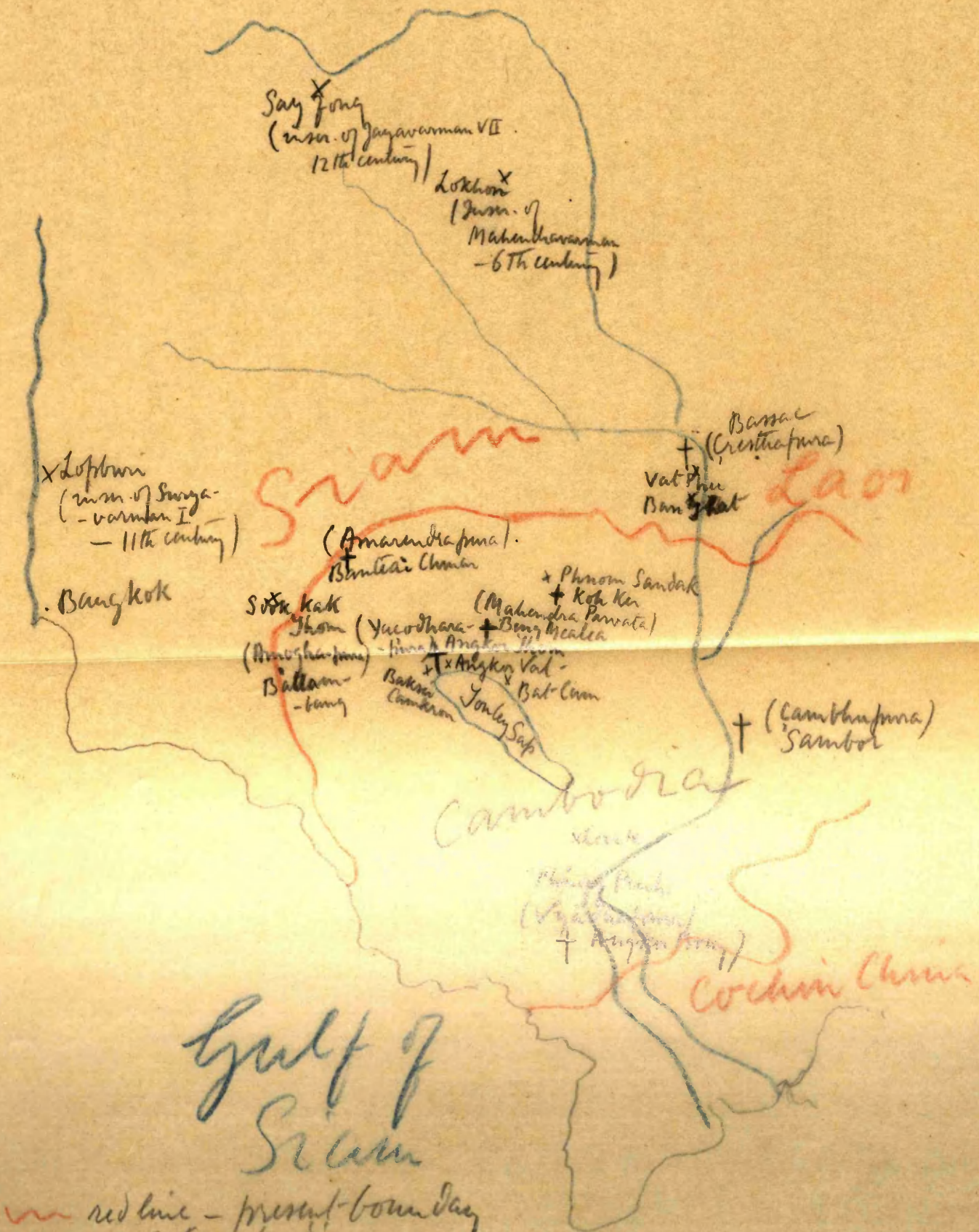
i) Les Inscriptions du Cambodge, Rapport par M. Bergaigne, pp. 27-28.

ii) Aymonier, Cambodge, tome II, p. 394.

iii) *ibid.*, I, p. 421

capitals one after another. With him begins the golden age of Kambuja architecture. Probably his stay in Java, where the Çailendra dynasty of Çriviṣṭya (Sumatra) had already begun their magnificent temples, gave him the inspiration for this building activity. Hariharâlaya, the abode of Hari-Hara (Çiva-Viṣṇu, a very popular combination in Indo-China) was the first capital after leaving Indrapura which already existed (perhaps towards the east) when he came from Java. Hariharâlaya has been identified with Prakhân⁽¹⁾ situated to the north and in the immediate vicinity of the site of the future Angkor Thom. With Prakhân begins thus both the new type of architecture and the superb group of monuments of the Angkor region. The position was indeed admirable for a capital. The Great Lake is very near and at the same time the ground is well above its level and quite dry. The temple of Prakhân is as usual oriented with a large artificial lake in front (which is about two miles in length and 1/3 of a mile in width). This lake is now called Pra Reach Dâk -- the sacred Dak-- the word Dak being derived from the Sanscrit Tataka (tank). In the centre of this vast sheet of water there is a small temple encircled by two Nâgas. It is on an islet in which also there are numerous small tanks symmetrically arranged. Out of the central tank rises the little sanctuary -- now completely demolished. From the representations of Nâgas in the sculptures and the numerous tanks it seems probable that the sanctuary

 (1) Aymer, Cambodge, t. 1, p. 421. ^{430-4-24.}



red line - present boundary
of Cambodia
x inscriptions of Kamboja
+ capitals of Kamboja

was consecrated to an aquatic deity -- probably the Nâgi ancestress of Kambuja. This cult however did not last long. Such temples, called Meaboune nowadays, became more and more humble in size and design in the later capitals of Jayavarman IIⁱ.

Close to the tank rises the Puri (royal residence) of Prakhan. The wide ditch round the Puri is crossed by broad stone bridges with parapets of giants holding serpents in their hands (representing the churning of the ocean--a well known theme of Indian mythology) which led [^] to high gates surmounted by towers representing huge human faces on four sides. The interior is now a complete ruin, but 47 towers, generally with human faces, can still be made out. The trouble was that in the first period of stone architecture in Kambuja the architects used frequently wooden beams and rafters which having given way led to the premature collapse of these structures. But the fine full-size sculptures of the nymphs on the walls, the deeply chiselled decorations, the great garuḍas serving as caryatides, and above all the grandeur of the design shows the high level of technique attained in the first attempt. It may be noted that heads of the Buddha of an archaic type and statues of the Master seated on a Nâga have also been found among the ruins.

The next capital was Amarendrapura situated on a sandy desert 40 leagues (100 miles) (~~Kamboj~~) to the north-

i) Aymonier, L'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 63-75 for the capitals of Jayavarman II.

-west of Angkor Thom. It is to be identified with the existing ruins of Banteai Chamar (the fortress of the cat). In the midst of the desert a large artificial lake has been excavated (which was fed by a stream), in the midst of which there is a Meboune (aquatic temple). From the western shore of the lake rise the ramparts of the Puri (smaller than that at Praknân -- $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east to west and $1\frac{1}{2}$ north to south). There is a ditch behind the ramparts, then a wall of limonite and after that a rectangle of galleries with the sanctuary in the centre. The ditch is crossed by four stone ^{bridges} ~~ditches~~ the railings of which are composed by giants tugging at the Nâga. The bridges had four superb gates decorated with gigantic garudas and surmounted by towers with four human faces. From the four gates four paved avenues adorned with stone lions lead to the interior where besides the sanctuary there are other edifices also ¹. The rectangle of galleries enclosing the sanctuary have their walls covered with bas-reliefs such as can be seen only at ^{the} Bayon and Angkor Vat. These represent besides Brahmanic deities persons having a small figure of Buddha engraved on their head-dress. Religious processions, the procession of the sacred fire, princesses in palanquins, troops marching, battle scenes, ^{naval} ~~several~~ encounters ^{etc} are to be seen here.

The great temple was built with bluish sand-stone brought from a great distance. After Angkor Vat and the Bayon (the temple of Angkor Thom) this temple of Bantei

1) See Aymonier, Le Cambodge (1901), t. II, p. 337.

Chamar is certainly the next in importance. The shrine was probably Çivaite, but a Çivaism deeply impregnated with Mahayânist Buddhism. The pediments are sculptured with representations of Buddhist legends and statues of the N Master are numerous. Moreover to this period belongs a royal grant to a Buddhist foundation. We must remember that at this time in Central Java the Hindu temple of Prambanam rose near the Buddhist shrine of Borobodur.

The third and last capital was Mahendra Parvata -- the Phnom Kouen of today (several leagues to the north-west of Angkor Thom). It is not on the crest of the hill, as the name signifies, but at its foot, but by a fiction well known both in Kambuja and Champa every important structure, especially Çaiva temples, actually at the foot of a hill is supposed to be theoretically at the top of it. At the foot of Phnom (hill) Kouen^{en} are spread the magnificent ruins of Beng Mealeaⁱ. Here too is the large artificial lake, a very small Melung, and to the west of it the royal capital. Here also we find the wide ditch, the broad stone bridges, the magnificent gates, the rectangle of galleries, etc, which we have seen in the two former capitals. Here however are two large stone buildings besides the temple. They may have been the palaces in which the monarch actually lived. Another new feature here is the profusion of tanks in the interior. Aymonier calls it a Venice in miniature planted by the royal will in the midst of an arid

i) Aymonier, Le Cambodge (1900), t.1, p.452-461.

desert. The ornamental work too, flowers, arabesques, etc., is exceptionally fine. Statues of gods and goddesses are however fewer here. It is to be noted that ~~xxx~~ it was with Mount Mahendra or Beng Mealea that the memory of Jayavarman seems to be more associated than with any other capital of his in the late inscriptions and traditions.

Such was the grand monarch whose memory is still preserved in Cambodia under the legendary ~~af~~ name of Prah Ket Mealea (or the Lord Ketû Mâlâ) to whom the Cambodians ascribe most of the magnificent ancient temples of the land including Angkor Vat. According to the story he was really the son of Indra—his supposed ~~father~~ father being an elephant driver whom the royal elephant had selected as ruler of the land in a period of anarchy. At this time a nymph of Indra's heaven had been condemned to a life of exile on this earth for plucking flowers from the garden of a poor Chinese in China. She became the wife of the Chinese and to them was born a son Popusnkar. Shortly afterwards she returned to heaven but on one of her visits to the earth she was caught by her son, who had been seeking her far and wide, and had to take him to Indra's court. There Popusnkar learnt architecture from the Deva-putras. Meanwhile Indra had also brought his son Ket Mealea to heaven so that the celestial Brahmans might confer on him the blessing of a long life. When Ket Mealea was sent back to Kambuja he was accompanied by Popusnkar who was asked by Indra to be the architect of his son.

And it was Popusnekar acting under the orders of Ket Mealea who built the superb monuments of Kambuja till one day he had a quarrel with the king about a sword the king had ordered (which when ready the king found too small) and then he returned to Chinaⁱ.

It is also from Jayavarmanⁱⁱ that the sacred sword of Kambuja is supposed to have been handed down - the sword that is the palladium of Kambuja and which is guarded day and night, turn by turn by the Bakus -- the descendants of the old Brahmins. The slightest rust on ^{the} blade would forebode a national disaster.

According to the diagraphic inscriptions of Jayavarman Jayavardhana, son of Jayavarman II, succeeded his father and assumed the title of Jayavarman III on ascending the throne. From the much damaged Khmer ~~in~~ inscription of Neak Ta Bak Kaⁱⁱⁱ we learn that he ascended the throne in 791 ç (869 A.D.) and that he reigned only for nine years, i.e. up to 799 ç (877A.D.) The Sdok Kak Thom inscription states^{iv} :- "During the reign of H.M. Viṣṇuloka (the posthumous name of Jayavarman III) the Kamraten Jagat ta rāja (the Royal God) resided at Hariharālaya. A nephew of Çivakaivalya, Sukṣmavindu, was the chaplain of the Royal God and all his relations also served the divinity." He had the reputation of being a great hunter of wild

----- *Legendes Cambodgiennes, Monod, p. 121 + seq.*
 i) + Aymonier, Textes Khmers and Legendes Cambodgiennes.
 ii) G. Maspero, L'Empire Khmer, p. 31.
 iii) Aymonier, Cambodge, i, p. 421.
 iv) B.E.F.E.O., xv, p. 88.

elephants. A Khmer inscription discovered among the ruins of Beng Mealea (Mahandra Parvata) relates the story of his capturing one of these animals. Another inscription ~~was~~ found to the southth of the Great Lake refers to his capturing three elephants. The *stèle* of Palhal mentions the name of a person Brahmanrâçika, of Vyadhapura, who was the chief of the royal elephant - huntersⁱ. This is all that we know of this prince who died a premature death.

The direct line of Jayavarman II having become extinct the throne was occupied by a distant relation — ~~of~~ Indravarman I whose maternal grandfather Rudravarman was the maternal uncle of the mother of the last king Jayavarman IIIⁱⁱ. It is curious to note the matriarchial nature of these genealogies. The inscription of the temple of Baku tells usⁱⁱⁱ :- "The queen (-mother), born of a family where kings have succeeded one another, being the daughter of Çri Rudravarman and the maternal granddaughter of the prince Nripatendravarman, became the wife of the prince Prithivindravarman, who came of ^a ~~the~~ family of Kṣatriyas and her son was the ruler of the land—Çri Indravarman, before whom kings bowed down. Whose right arm (i.e. the arm of the King Indravarman), long and round, terrible in war when it presses (the enemy) with the swinging sword, the cause of affliction of the rulers,

i) Coedes, Etude Camb., B.E.F.E.O., xiii, vi.

ii) I.S.C.C., p. 365, Stanza II.

iii) I.S.C.C., p. 306, Stanza III & seq.

of territories of all the directions and which is invincible, is yet capable of relenting in two cases when (the ~~xxxxing~~ enemy) can face him no longer or when (the enemy) seeks refuge under his protection so that his life may be spared. Çri Indravarman assuming the royal power in 799 ç has since then rendered his subjects happy and assured their prosperity. . . Having acquired the kingdom he vowed first of all that within five days he would begin the work of excavation (of tanks), etc. The Creator tired of creating many kings has created this king, Çri Indravarman, for the satisfaction of the three worlds. In the Çaka year 801. . . Çri Indravarman has contr^uributed three images of the Lord and (three images) of the goddesses at the same time according to his own (ideas of) art".

From the Khmer portion of this inscription we find that the king also dedicated the six towers of the temple to his deified ancestors -- the three towers of the front row being consecrated to Prithivindecvara, Parameçvara and Rudreçvara respectively. Now Prithivindecvara is the deified name of the king's father Prithivindravarman who is thus identified with Çiva. Parameçvara also, is a title of Çiva, is the nom d'apotheose¹ of Jayavarman II and Rudreçvara (another name of Çiva) of the king's maternal grandfather Rudravarman. The two towers in the second row are dedicated to Prithivindra-devi and Dhavanindra-devi respectively. The inscription for the third tower in this row is missing. Now these feminine names signify both the

1) I.S.C.C., p. 302.

Goddess Durgâ and the wives of Prithivindravarman and Jayavarman. These towers were meant as the sanctuaries for the three images of Çiva and the three images of Durga mentioned in the Sanscrit inscription. So we have here Çiva adored in the three aspects of the king's father, grandfather and Jayavarman II. We shall come back to this point later on.

At Bayang has been discovered another inscription of Indravarman I¹. "The Lord of Kambuja, Çri Indravarmana distinguished by all the virtues, has become king in the Çaka year 799". Then follow three stanzas which are the same, word by word, as the stanzas III, IV and VI of the Baku inscription containing an eulogy of the king. Then follows a highly complex description of the king's sword:- "Red on account of piercing into the cavity of the heads of the enemy's elephants, the blade shining like a snake's hood (with its jewelled crest) on account of the stream of pearls (which it has torn out from the elephant's head), terrible in battle is his sharp-edged sword like the king of snakes on the candana creeper to which the arm of the king can be compared". In the 10th stanza his victorious campaigns are referred to:- "Across the sea of fighting, difficult to cross, for crossing his army, he has constructed a bridge (like Rama) with the chopped heads of his proud enemies". Then we are told the object of this inscription. "By ~~the~~ him, whose orders kings accept on their heads, this golden chariot (or tow^a) resplendant with jewels, (adorned) with creepers with

1) J. S. C. C. p. 315

beautiful leaves, has been constructed with devotion for the Supreme Lord at Givapura to keep off cold, etc. He who has never retreated from battle, the most pious lion among kings, has assigned for the ritual of worship of Him who wears on His crest the digit of the new moon other wonderful brilliant accessories of gold and silver. He, the sole hero, has endowed two ~~mountains~~^{monasteries} named after himself (Indra) with all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, with splendid tanks—which (monasteries) he has filled with slaves, etc., where guests and other people have their wants satisfied by the abundance of all the necessities of life stored up previously".

At another temple at Bakong we have five inscriptions of ^{In}~~Indra~~varman I under five of the eight ^e~~to~~wers each of which reproduces word by word the first eight stanzas of the Baku inscription (containing an eulogy of the king) and then abruptly breaks off¹. Even the object of the inscription is not mentioned. Yet Bakong is a magnificent monument the first of the great pyramidal structures which are characteristic of the fully developed ("the classic") period of Khmer architecture. The incomplete inscription seems to imply that the temple was abandoned as soon as it was built. The edifice consists of five terraces of sandstone rising one above the other. Forty lions, which diminish in size the higher up we go, adorn the four staircases on the four sides. Twenty large monolithic

1) I.S.C.C., p. 3II.

elephants, which also get smaller and smaller on the upper parts, are placed at the angles of the terraces. Eight fine brick towers crown this pyramid which is in the midst of a vast enclosure walled and surrounded by a ditch which is crossed by causeways ornamented with parapets of many-hooded Nâgasⁱ.

The Baku temple to which we have already referred has six brick towers smaller in size and humbler in design than those of Bakong. Both of these ruins are at a distance of about ten miles to the south-west of Angkor Thom in the immediate vicinity of which was Hariharâlaya the capital at this period.ⁱⁱ

The architecture of Indravarman's reign has got some peculiar characteristics which have led M. Parmentier, the head of the Archaeological Department of French Indo-China to call it a separate school of architecture -- the "art of Indravarman"ⁱⁱⁱ. It is much more allied to the early Khmer art -- the art of Funan -- than the architecture of Jayavarman II's reign. Brick towers are common both to the period of Indravarman and that of early Funan. There are also at this period no galleries joining the different portions of a temple which is so characteristic a feature of the later monuments of Angkor Thom and Sngkor Vat. The structures also as in the early Funan period tower up high without spreading over a wide area. The part played by the decorative art which leaves no surface untouched as in Bayon (the

i) Aymonier, L'Ancien Cambodge, 1920, p. 81.

ii) *ibid.*

iii) Parmentier, L'Art d'Indravarman, B.E.F.E.O., xix, f. 2.

chief temple of Angkor Thom) has not become so prevalent at this time though the simple Funan style of bare unworked surfaces has also ~~been~~ been discarded. The decorative art of Indravarman's reign resembles wood-carving while the latter style becomes as exuberant as painting. The distinctly Pallava features of ornamentation, the kudu (of the form of a horseshoe with some figure inside the curve) and the *tiruvachi*¹ (a motif of two makaras at each end of a crescent-shaped design), have however both disappeared from the art of Indravarman though they played a very conspicuous rôle in that of Funan.

It is a very curious fact indeed that during the reign of Indravarman there should have been evolved a special school of art different both from that of his predecessor Jayavarman and from that of his son and successor, Yaçovarman, the royal builder par excellence of Kambuja.

Indravarman I died in 811 9 (889 A.D.) and his soul was supposed to have passed on to "the world of the Lord" -- *Içvara-loka* -- that being his posthumous name.

Before we go on to the next reign, that of his son Yaçovarman, which constitutes a landmark in the history of ~~8x~~ Kambuja, we might note a few particulars about the epigraphy of Indravarman's period. We should remember that we have no contemporary inscriptions of Jayavarman II. We only have references in his career in much later genealogies etc. So that the inscriptions of Indravarman are the first

i) Kudu and *tiruvachi* are South Indian terms.

official "records" which have come to light after the inscriptions of Jayavarman I who reigned in the second half of the 7th century. During the interval of two centuries noteworthy changes have taken place in the appearance of the letters. They had become round in form. E.g. "v" had become almost a perfect circle. The curves had become more graceful. The flourishes had developed to a certain extent but had not yet been superposed uniformly on all the letters for ornamental purposes as they would be in the next reign. Certainly there was a gain in artistic effect thereby but it also becomes more difficult to distinguish the letters from one another. The (jihvāmuliya and upadhmāniya) had quite dropped out of use at this period. The "d" and "ḍ" and "b" and "v" are confused with one another more than ever. The b is often replaced by v in words where b is required. But the language is quite correct and no fault can be ascribed to the engraver.

CHAPTER VI.
-----YAÇOVARMAN AND ANGKOR THOM.

Yaçovardhana¹, the son of Indravarman, succeeded his father and on his accession assumed the title of Yaçovarman. He was one of the grand monarchs of Kambuja and it was under him that Kambuja architecture reached its highest point. None of the Khmer kings has celebrated his name in so many inscriptions as he, yet he remains a mysterious figure. His preceptor or guru was Vâmaçiva -- a Brahman who was the disciple of Çivasoma the guru of his father. Vâmaçiva was the upâdhyâya (professor) of Indravarman and it was in the life time of Indravarman that he was entrusted with the education of Yaçovardhana who was then quite youngⁱⁱ.

The inscriptions, engraved on the stone door panels of the four towers of the temple of Loley, tell us :- "The king of kings, Çri Yaçovarman, who assumed the (royal) power in the year designated by the moon, the moon and eight (8II ç.), has given all this -- servants, etc., -- to the Supreme Lord erected by himself. He, the foremost of donors, asks again and again of all the future sovereigns of Kambuja, that this pious bridge (across the cares of this world) should be preserved. You who are the incarnations

1) It is interesting that at least four of the kings of Kambuja, before they ascended the throne, had names which did not end in "varman"; e.g. Citrasena (Mahendravarman), Içanasena (Içanavarman), Jayavardhana (Jayavarman III), Yaçovardhana (Yaçovarman). Moreover it is to be noted that the Sena and Vardhana titles are both peculiarly Vaishya and not Kshatriya.

ii) Inscr. Sdok Kak Thom, B.E.F.E.O., t.xv,^{no.2,} p.89.

of glory, you who are ready to sacrifice your lives for the sake of duty, you who are the first among those who hold ~~high~~ high their heads, could you covet the wealth of the gods? Guard this (pious work) from persons, who, in the presence of custodians (of monuments), present an honest appearance, but who profit by a hole to rob the possession of the gods. Even in the age of truth, Râhu, assumed the guise of a god to steal the ambrosia. Just as Viṣṇu, overpowering Râhu and his like, preserved the gods and the ambrosia, so you too, by killing the thieves, should protect the god and his property. I know well that begging is as death, especially for a king. However death in a pious cause is praiseworthy for the good. Therefore I ask you, you who would not refuse me. The royal children, ministers and others should protect this (sacred monument) by (public) proclamations, etc. To you, who are loving as well as learned, the onerous task of upkeep (this) is entrusted by the king." (I.S.C.C., p. 325).

"In the Çaka year 815. . . Çri yaçovarman has erected at the same time ^ethese statues of Gauri and the Lord (Çiva) which he has made himself".

From the Khmer inscriptions of this temple of Loley we learn that the two images of Çiva in the two towers of the front row bore the names of Indravarmaçvara and Mahâpatiçvara respectively. So here too the king's father and maternal grandfather, Indravarman and Mahâpati-varman, are worshipped as Çiva. In the two towers of the second row the two images of Bhavâni were named Indra devi and Râjendra devi -- the names of the king's mother

and maternal grandmother respectively. So here also, as in the temple of Baku of the preceeding reign, we have ancestor-worship and the worship of the gods combined together.

In the Pratima nâṭaka, one of the dramas recently discovered in South India and attributed to Bhāsa, there is a reference to an image of the deceased king who might have been deified in this way. The ~~name~~ ^{statue} of Daśaratha is added to the statues of his predecessors in the pratima (statue) hall¹. In Travancore there is something like this form of ancestor worship in families. Probably an indigenous cult of ancestor worship existed in Indo-China and reinforced the Indian form of it .

The Kumer inscription (undated) of Bantai Chummar¹¹ gives us very curious information :- "When Bharat Rāhu Samvuddhi revolted against H.M. Yaçovarman and assaulted the royal palace (vrah mandira), all the troops in the capital took to flight. The king came forth to fight in person. The Sanjak Arjuna and the Sanjak (a Kumer word which may mean "faithful" or "bound by an oath") Çri Dharadevapura fought so as to cover the person of the king and fell before his eyes. After repressing the rebellion of Bharata Rāhu, the king conferred the titles of Vrah Kamraten An Çri Nṛpasimhavarman ^{on} ganjak Devapura son of ganjak Çri Dharadevapura, conferred the posthumous dignity of Anten on the two deceased Sanjaks, caused their statues to be erected and lavished wealth and favours on their families."

1) Keith, Sanscrit Drama, p. 100.

11) Aymonier, Cambodge, II, p. 344-345.

"The king invaded Campa Dvīpa to the East. Then he seized the fort which the king of Campa, Śrī Jaya Indravarman, had constructed on Mount Vek. In the place of the king he put on the throne a general (senāpati) of Campa. The Campa people laid an ambush and surrounded the king (of Kambuja) with twelve bodies of troops which, though repulsed, continued to fight without respite. The king had to retreat with his army, still fighting, to Mount Trayāchar. The troops of Campa besieged him on this mountain and their turbaned warriors attacked him but they were all killed or disabled except thirtyone. The king descended (from the mountain) and fought his way down to the foot of the mountain which the enemy had surrounded and no one dared measure arms with him. The Sanjak Śrī Deva and the Sanjak Śrī Varddhana, whose families were bound to the king by oath and both of whom came from the country of Vijayapura, begged him to allow them to sacrifice their lives before his eyes. The Campa troops attacked them in a body and the two nobles, true to their vow, fell mortally wounded. His Majesty gave them a royal funeral. The king brought back his troops, fighting continuously, by the four lakes. . . . On his return to Kambuja he conferred on the two deceased Sanjaks the posthumous title of Amten and erected their statues.".

Another portion of this inscription tells² us that to the south-east^{of the throne} was the god Arjuna-deva, to the north-east the god Śrī Dharadevapura, to the south-west the god Śrī Devadeva and to the north-west the god Varddhanadeva -- all Mantris (ministers)". This passage must refer to the

statues of the faithful nobles and it shows that they too were deified.

The inscription of Pnom Sandak¹, dated 817 ç, contains the most elaborate invocation to the Trimurti, i.e. Çiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma and the goddesses Gauri and Sarasvatī :-

"Om ! prosperity ! Success ! Good auspices ! Victory ! salutation to Çiva whose toe-nail, moistened by the honey of the celestial mandâra-flower on Indra's head prostrate before him, gleams with lustre. Bow down to Rudra from whose lotus feet the pollen falls off like the smoke of the flames of the myriads of jewels on the crest of gods (prostrate before him). Victory to Dhūrjati in whose flaming red locks Ganga hides herself fearing to be consumed by the wrath of Umâ. Victory to the Great Boar whose tusks gleam like the sprouts of the glory of Him who (Viṣṇu) traversed the three worlds with (three) strides. I salute Viṣṇu in whose arms shines the earth. . . May the (four) faces of Brahma, in the lotus of the cosmic ocean, protect you, faces which are like lotuses themselves issued from the (cosmic) lotus for the death of Madhu and Kaiṭāva (or for the death of bees greedy of honey). . . I salute Gauri whose lotus face shrinks with bashfulness and during the first caresses of Hara as if to escape from contact with the rays of the moon (which her lord bears on his forehead)¹¹. Salutation to the goddess Sarasvatī! Divinity supreme of speech, which consists of sound and who is

1) I.S.C.C., p.336.

11) The lotus closes when the moon rises.

invoked even in the invocations to other (deities)". Then follows an eulogy of Yaçovarman till we come to the object of the inscription (stanza 18). "During his reign there was an eminent muni (seer), whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by munis, of the name of Somaçiva, an ocean of learning in the Çastras. There was a disciple of the venerable Somaçiva, whom the lord of the earth (Yaçovarman) has appointed as professor in the domain of Çrī Indravarmaçvara (i.e. in the estate of the god). He after having churned with his Mandâr-like¹ intelligence the sea of Çiva-çâstra¹¹ and having drunk the nectar of knowledge, through compassion, gave it to others to drink. In whose lotus-like mouth, which won the minds (of men) by the honey of grammar trickling from it, Sarasvati like a bee was pleased to dwell. . . . It is he who has consecrated here, with due honours, the linga Çrī Bhadreçvara in the çaka year 817."

Now we come to the di-graphic inscriptions of yaçovarman. Really there are only two texts -- the shorter being reproduced in eleven inscriptions and the longer only in one. All these are at different places. Each of these inscriptions however gives the same text twice -- once in the usual Kambuja characters of the ornate type of the period of Yaçovarman and a second time in characters of a foreign origin. Such repetitions of the same text in so many instances are not to be found in any other case in

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- 1) Mandâra is the mountain with which the gods churned the ocean to extract the ambrosia.
 - 11) Probably the grammar of Pânini which is supposed to have been revealed by Çiva.

Indo-China. They are rare in India too. Of course Aśoka's inscriptions are reproduced at many different places. But they were royal edicts and the king had to see that his words were transmitted to his people as faithfully as possible.

Yaçovarman's inscriptions are more of a literary than of an official type. They could well have been written in different words. Here the repetition seems something like a fashion and to seek other examples of this particular fashion we have to turn to a country which apparently had the closest relations of all with Kambuja, which transmitted to Kambuja her principal alphabet, the termination "Varman" of the names of her kings and her Civaism. It is in the seven Pagodas (near Madras), in the inscriptions engraved by the ancient Pallava kings on their "rathas" and in other temples of this region at Çaluvankuppa and at Kâncipura, inscriptions mostly earlier than those of Yaçovarman, that we come across the particular fashion of repetition. By a curious coincidence it is also on the same monuments at Çaluvankuppa and Kâncipura that we find examples of the other strange features of these inscriptions of Yaçovarman -- the "diagraphism" i.e. writing of the same text in two different scripts¹.

Burnell in his "Elements of South Indian Paleography" says about the Nagari inscriptions found side by side ^{with} ~~of~~ inscriptions in the local script at xx

1) I.S.C.C., p. 347-349.

Caluvankappa that they were intended for the convenience of pilgrims from the north. Barth however thinks that as regards these long and learned Kambuja inscriptions the idea is not so much of practical convenience as that of a pompous fashion. He says that the fact that such diagraphic inscriptions are to be found both in India and in Kambuja shows with what facility fashions spread even to the extreme corners of the Hinduised Orient.

But more important than this feature of diagraphism is the appearance in Kambuja of this new alphabet. All the alphabets of Kambuja up to this time (they differ from one another only in matters of ornamental detail) have been of unmistakably South Indian (Pallava) origin. But this new alphabet, which appears with Yagovarman and which did not long survive him, belongs to the Nagari class of the North Indian alphabets. Now at a period not much removed from the time of the Kambuja inscriptions (about the 7th or 8th century ~~aka~~) we find in India an alphabet used in inscriptions on monuments so far to the ~~North~~^{South} as the region of the Seven Pagodas. And as it was a case of abrupt transmission of a script from one region to another the new system did not take root in the soil. This movement was not an isolated one. Burnell writes¹ that inscriptions in this (Nagari) character, both Hindu and Buddhist, occur in considerable numbers in Java. "Grants, explanatory remarks, inscriptions on rings and Buddhist confessions of faith have all been

1) South Indian Paleography, p. 53.

found in this character"¹. In the British Museum the writer has seen an image of a goddess from Java with the name inscribed in North Indian characters remarkably like Bengali. Now this script from North India is quite different from the old Javanese characters which came from the Pallava region of Southern India. Burnell says :- "It is thus plain that the examples which occur of this character in South India and Java must be due to emigrants from the North who saw fit to leave their own country in considerable numbers. It may not be impossible to discover the causes of this immigration, which, in later times, is probably to be attributed to the Muhammedan conquest. In earlier times religious disputes may have been the cause. There is little trace of development of this character."¹¹.

Since then the discovery of the Mahayanist inscription of Kalasan in Central Java has proved that this North Indian alphabet and Northern Buddhism existed in Java much earlier than Burnell thought when he wrote this passage.

(Burnell was of opinion that a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java took place about the IIth century)¹¹¹.

This inscription of Kalasan is dated the year 700 g , i.e.

778 A.D. and M. Coedes by his researches published in 1918

has shown that it is an inscription of the king of the

Chailendra dynasty of ^{the} C rivijaya kingdom in Sumatra. This kingdom of C rivijaya rose to great power about this time and

ruled over considerable portions of Sumatra, the Malay Penin-

1) South Indian Paleography, p. 53.

11) *ibid.*, p. 54.

111) The Indian Antiquary, ^{vol. V,} p. 316.

sula and Java. Did the wave which carried this alphabet to Kambuja come directly from North India or from the Coromandel Coast or from Java? On one side Kambuja inscriptions mention several times the arrival of Brahmins and once at least a Brahman [^]by [^]on the banks of the Jumna in North India is mentioned as living in Kambuja. On the other hand the Nagari alphabet in Kambuja does not exactly resemble any one of the scripts in India -- not even the North Indian script in the Seven Pagodas (c. 700 A.D.). On the contrary there are several characteristic features in common with the characters of the Kalaran inscriptions of Java. They differ only by the abundance of flourishes which had long been a peculiarity of the Kambuja epigraphy. It ^{is} also at Java that this alphabet has left the most numerous tracts -- those near Madras being scanty for this period. It was only much later that Nandi-nagari became extensively used in South India. It seems that this North Indian alphabet arrived in Kambuja only after making a long halt in Java.

As regards general aspects the letters are not broad -- as in Deva-nagari -- but long, vertical and angular as in Bengali. Then the vertical bar ^{or} placed to the right of most of the new letters has acquired a prominence both in Java and in Kambuja as it has nowhere else in India except in Bengali. To sum up, as Burnell has already recognised as regards the script of the Seven Pagodas, this new Kambuja alphabet belongs to the ^{eastern} ~~earlier~~ branch of the Nagari family, the branch now represented by Bengali. As a further proof of this it may be mentioned that the medial form of

the vowel e (e-kâr) is in this Kambuja script a curve placed to the left of the consonant (just as in Bengali) and not on the top of the consonant as in Nagari.

The text of the shorter inscription which is reproduced in two scripts eleven times (at different places) contains first a praçasti (eulogy) of Yaçovarman which includes also a long genealogy and secondly a çâsana or ordinance of gifts which is, according to Barth, strikingly reminiscent of those Smṛiti treatises which follow most closely the style of the sutras.

We have already referred to this genealogy on p. 34. The great emphasis laid on the high connections of the mother of Yaçovarman is to be noted. Through her father Indradevi (Yaçovarman's mother) was connected with "the lord of Aninditapura, Pushkarâksha, who also acquired the principality of Çambhupura and who was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of the king who established his residence on Mount Mahendra (Jayavarman II)". Through her mother Indradevi traced her descent from "a Brahman of the name of Agastya, a scholar of the Vedas and Vedângas, whose place of origin was Aryadeça (North India ?) and his royal consort of illustrious descent Yaçomati distinguished by her renown."¹ Yaçovarman's father, Indravarman I, was the grandson of a simple Kṣatriya but it is noteworthy that his (Yaçovarman's) father married his cousin (maternal uncle's daughter)

1) I.S.C.C., p. 364, stanza 5.

1) I.S.C.C., p. 365.

ii) The inscriptions of the Gangas, dated from the 8th century A.D., tell of Konganivarman "distinguished for the strength and valour attested by the great of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword" which is contrary to the orthodox Hindu practice. The genealogy comes to a close with the 16th stanza¹. "It was from this lord of the earth (Indravarman) whose renown spread in all directions and his queen Çri Indradevi that was born, like Kârttikeya from the daughter of the mountain and Tripurârî (Pârvati and Çiva), the unique accumulation of energy,

Then follows the eulogy of yaçovarman which is merely a pompous affair. In the 28th stanza (p. 366) we get :- "This king, well versed (in kingly duties), performed the Koti - - noma and the yajnas (Vedic sacrifices) for which he gave the priests magnificent presents of jewels, gold, etc." This is one of the few references to Vedic sacrifices in Kambuja. The 32nd and the following stanzas (p. 367) give the object of the inscription :- "He had erected on the side of the lake of Indra (the artificial tank excavated by his father Indravarman) four images of Çiva and his consort, purifying like the four Vedas, for the (spiritual) welfare of his ancestors. He cut into three pieces with one stroke of his sword a long, round, thick and hard (barâ of) iron for having dared to rival his arm¹¹. Shooting arrows with his left hand as with his right (like Arjuna), having Hari as his ally (like Arjuna), the sole hero (fit) for the conquest of the earth (Go-grahana -- a pun alluding to the calike-lifting raid in the Mahabharata), he carried off the glory of victory. The moon of glory in the firmament of the royal

1) I.S.C.C., p. 365.

ii) The inscriptions of the Gangas, dated from the 5th to the 8th century A.D., tell of Konganivarman "distinguished for the strength and valour attested by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword". Mysore inscriptions by Lewis Rice, p. 282, 293.

race of Kambuja - he excavated the unruffled lake of Yaçadhara. Having dedicated the âçrama (monastery) of Yaçodhara (to Çiva?) in the çaka year 811 he made this çâsana (ordinance) for (the shrine of) Ganeça of Mount gandana".

In the çâsana, which is the same in all the inscriptions, only the 36th stanza varies, for it contains the name of the particular deity (as in this case of Ganeça) to whom the donation is made. Then follow very interesting details (pp. 367-368) which give the regulations of 2 Çivaite temples -- details which recall the minute formalities observed in the sanctuaries of Çiva in South India. These details are identical in all the inscriptions :- "All the things which the king Yaçovarman has given to the Arçama (Yaçodharâçrama) - pearls, gold, silver, cows, horses, buffaloes, elephants, men, women, gardens, etc., are not to be taken away by the king or anybody else. Into the interior of the royal hut the king, the Brahmins and the offspring of kings (ksatriyas) can alone enter without taking off their ornaments. Others such as the common people forming the escort of nobles can only enter in a humble dress without garlands - the flower nandyâvarta however being allowed in their case too. . . . (The common people) should not take any food or chew the betel-nut there. The common people (not forming the escort of nobles) will not enter. There should be no quarrels. (Mock) ascetics of bad character should not lie down there. Brahmins, worshippers of Çiva and Viçnu, good people of good manners can lie down there to recite their prayers in a low voice and to give themselves up to meditation. With

the exception of the king whoever passes in front of the monastery shall get down from his chariot and walk uncovered by an umbrella. This is not applicable to strangers. The excellent ascetic, who is appointed the head of the monastery, should always offer food, drink, betel and do all the duties, such as offering welcome, to guests, such as Brahmins, children of kings (kshatriyas?), ministers, the leaders of the army, ascetics of the Āiśva and vaiṣṇava cult and the best among the common people. They are to be honoured according to the order laid down there. As long as the sun and the moon exist may these go to hell, who break and transgress the cāśana (order) thus decreed. Those who follow the cāśana thus laid down and strengthen it may they obtain half the merit acquired (by the donor)".

These diagraphic inscriptions are admirably engraved. Nothing could be more elegant or more painstaking. They are scattered all over the kingdom but the style of engraving is so similar that they probably are the work of the same craftsman or the same group of craftsmen.

The diagraphic inscription at Loley¹ gives a much longer text which up to this time has been found only there. Fifteen of its stanzas are common to the other diagraphic inscriptions. It contains 93 stanzas but inspite of its great length it does not throw much additional light on Yaçovarman. The invocation is to Çiva who is worshipped at Loley² ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as Indravarmaçvara

1) I.S.C.C., p. 393 - 402.

much later than the 9th century and about whose very name doubts have been expressed, this passage makes a welcome contribution to the history of the Sanscrit literature on medicine. In the 51st stanza we hear of the accomplishments of the king :- "He was learned in all the scriptures, (skilled) in the use of all the weapons, (expert) in all fine arts, languages and scripts and in dancing and singing and other (accomplishments) as if he were the first inventor (of these arts)". The 55th stanza contains an allusion to Arjuna's shooting at the target at the competition for Draupadi's hand (Mahabharata). "For hitting the target, though it was not fixed (and immovable), through a hole in the centre of a (revolving) wheel, he was not only like Arjuna in his exploits but he was also like Bhima in his impetuosity". The 56th stanza states :- "He who reigned over the earth the limits of which were the Chinese frontier and the sea and whose qualities, glory, learning and prosperity were without any limits". Stanzas 60 to 63 mention the various royal gifts (to the four images of Çiva and Çarvâni -- Durgâ -- consecrated in the temple) consisting of ornaments, vases of gold and silver, spittoons, palanquins, fans, umbrellas, peacock feathers, men and beautiful women, clever in singing and dancing, villages paying rent, herds of cattle, gardens, etc. The slaves were never to be employed by the king except for defence against a hostile army invading the kingdom and in that case alone. Then follow regulations prohibiting the wearing of ornaments, except light earrings, by those visiting the temple. Blue or many-coloured clothes are not to be worn.

there. Honest men and women, desirous of worshipping the divinities, could enter with offering proportionate to their means. Those who did not possess any other wealth except faith could enter only with a flower. Mutilated persons¹, ungrateful people, hunchbacks, dwarfs, great sinners, vagabonds and forsigners, lepers and condemned persons could not be allowed to enter the precincts of Çiva. Those only should serve the god who were followers of (the cult of) Maheçvara, self-controlled, of good family and character and who had attained peace of mind. As regards those who through presumption would break this decree, if they were Brahmins, as they could not be punished by blows or fines, they were to be ejected from the compound. The royal princes were to be fined 20 palas of gold, ^{and} half of that amount was to be the fine for the relations and the ministers of the king. Half of the (last) amount was the fine for those who were privileged to carry gold-handled umbrellas and half of that for the principal merchants. Half of (the last) amount was for the worshippers of Çiva and Viçnu and half of that for the common people. Those of the common people who could not pay the fine^{ne} were to be caned on the back. If any offence was committed against the rite_s of worship, the temple vessels, the prescribed time and the purity (of worship), all the custodians (of the temple) beginning with the head (abbot) were to be fined along with the culprits varying amounts ranging from 20 palas of gold^{according} to the grade laid

1) See Manu as regards the mutilated being considered as inauspicious

down. In the last (93rd) stanza we have :- "He who has the majesty of the lord of the ambujas (lotuses)¹, the lord of the Kambujas, with eyes like the ambuja (lotus) is the writer of this script called the Kambuja script".

Besides the diagraphic inscriptions there are seven inscriptions which are written only in the North Indian characters. Six of them are Hindu inscriptions. The seventh, that of Táp Pranan, is about a Saugatâgrama (a Buddhist monastery) and the third stanza of the invocation is addressed to the Buddha. Five of the Hindu inscriptions are engraved on stone slabs on or near the embankment of Tanâl Baray -- the ancient lake of Yaçodhara on the bank of which was situated the Âgrama of Yaçodhara. Four are at the four angles of the embankment and the 5th is to the south-east of it. Only the eulogy of the king and the description of the lake differ in the four inscriptions at the four angles -- the rest being common to all of them. The fifth, which is not on the embankment, contains in addition an ordinance (çâsana like those which we have already seen) about the âgrama which was probably situated where this inscription has been found. The inscriptions, though poor in historical matters, are important, as we shall see, from the standpoint of the history of Sanscrit literature. Moreover they throw light incidentally on religious and other customs.

The 10th stanza of the inscription which deals with the âgrama on p. 42I (I.S.C.C.) states :- "Although he (the king) knew all that could be known on account of his unobscured

1) The sun, the lord of the lotus.

III.

intellect he employed the eyes of spies in order that the royal position may not be assailed". Stanzas 3 to 8 (p. 422) lay down the order of precedence according to which guests were to be honoured in the âgrama :- "Then (after the king) the Brahmana should be honoured above all others; if they are many, their qualities and their learning should be taken into consideration (to settle the question of ~~precedence~~ ~~âgrama~~ precedence). The royal prince, the minister, the commander of the army, good (or eminent) people, should be honoured with great care according to the order given here. Especially is the valiant (person) who has shown his courage to be honoured; the warlike is to be preferred to the unwarlike as the defence of religion depends on him. Next to the Brahman are to be honoured a Çaiva âcârya and a Pâçupata âcârya, if one of them is learned in grammar¹ he is to be honoured above the other. The âcârya who is the most learned among the scholars of Çaiva and Pâçupata doctrines and of grammar, that professor is to receive the highest honours in this great âgrama. The house-holder who has studied much is to be honoured as much as the âcârya, for it is said by Manu that of the qualities acquired the highest is knowledge." Then follows ^(Hünzler 9, p. 413) a quotation from Manu (II, 136) :- "Wealth, ~~âkṣarāṅga~~ friends, age, pious acts and fifthly learning -- these are the claims to respect in the ascending order of importance". The following stanzas^(10+11, p. 413) give :- "All common people, the young,

1) i.e. if he is a Sanscrit scholar.

the old, the invalids, the paupers and the orphans should be provided with care with food, medicine, etc. Every day the gold offering is to be done as it is prescribed and a brown cow is to be honoured with grass and other rites." In stanzas 13, 14 & 15 (p. 423) a curious practise is alluded to:- "For those who through devotion to duty have fallen on the battle-field, for the faithful who are dead, for the departed who are deprived of funeral offerings having no relations. . . for all these at the end of every month funeral offerings are to be made with ^{four} âdnakas of rice. The funeral offerings are to be prepared in the âgrama, then they are to be brought and offered on the banks of the Yaçodhara lake". Barth thinks that this is quite contrary to the orthodox Hindu practise according to which funeral offerings could only be made to the souls of the deceased by blood relations. But there is a passage in the Grâddha (funeral service) mantras in which an offering is made to those who have died without issue or those for whom the proper funeral ceremonies could not be performed. Then the heroes of the battle of Kurukṣetra are also invoked in the "ruci-mantra" of the Grâddha ceremony. But this is done by individuals while performing the annual funeral rites for their departed ancestors. In this particular case the âgrama is doing it on behalf of the community which is unusual in India.

The passage which follows has been partially effaced
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but we can make out that food, betel leaves,
 49
 twigs to be used as tooth-brush, a handful of dipika (grains
 of a plant used as a digestive), etc., were to be given to

guests, such as âcâryas, ascetics, etc. To the student the food given was to be according to the age (of the recipient). The crows too were to get some rice. Cooked rice¹ only was to be given. Three bowls (or ladle-fulls) of rice and ten of curries were to be given according as they presented themselves. Ashes (with which Ćaivas besmear their bodies), a special kind of ashes containing alkali (to be used as soap) for washing the long locks (which Ćaivas keep), a receptacle for ashes, another for incense, another for fire and a jar for water were to be given to âcâryas and deserving ascetics. Blank leaves (of palm or birch), ink and chalk were to be given to students and on special days such as the five festivals they were to be given special food. Once in their cells the ascetics would be free from the control of the supervisor. If innocent persons came to seek (in the âgrama) a refuge in their fright they were not to be handed over to their persecutors and he was not to seize them. Neither by word, thought nor act was anyone to be killed there. . . . Inoffensive creatures (animals) were not to be killed in the vicinity of the âgrama or the lake. A king's daughter, a king's granddaughter, old ladies of the royal household, chaste women were to be honoured there as the other guests. They should not however enter the cells. Women known to be of bad conduct were not to be allowed to enter even if they came (to seek refuge).⁽²⁾

1) Khârî, âdhaka and prastha are the measures of rice mentioned in the inscription. Khârî is a measure of grain of about 3 bushels, âdhaka is $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the khârî and prastha $\frac{1}{4}$ th of âdhaka.

(2) J. S. C. C. pp. 424+425 (D)

In one of the inscriptions at one of the corners of the lakeⁱ we have a reference to a king of Kashmir in a passage with^a a double meaning :- (The king (Yaçovarman) with his fine army (Pravar^aṣena) having explained to all the established institution (bridge) of religion has outdone the other Pravar^aṣena (the king of Kashmir) who constructed only an ordinary bridge (who composed a Prakrit poem Setu-vandha)". Prof. Keithⁱⁱ says that the Setu-vandha was written indirectly to celebrate the building of a bridge across the Jhelum by King Pravar^aṣena of Kashmir. From the introduction of Rajataranginiⁱⁱⁱ we learn that this was probably Pravar^aṣena II of the 6th century who founded Srinagara. The poem Setu-vandha has been sometimes attributed to Kalidasa himself. Stanzas 15 and 16 on page 457 (I.S.C.C.) contain very valuable literary references. The king here is being compared to a Pārada (a Jaina savior^u or Trithankara?) whose Kalyāna (salutary influence) is never missing (on the other hand the Kalyāna is one of the lost books of the Jains^{iv}), a Guṇādhyā who does not like Prakrit (which is a vulgar language compared to Sanscrit), a Viṣalākṣa who is opposed to Niti (the subt^elities of political craft), a Ćura who has humiliated Bhimaka (or a hero stronger than a Bhīma). Guṇādhyā is the author of the Brihat-kathā (the great tale) in Prakrit. This work has been lost and survives only in the

i) I.S.C.C., p.434, Stanza 7.

ii) Keith, Classical Sanscrit Literature.

iii) Stein, Rajatarangini, p.66 and III, 129 n. There is also a Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of the Deccan.

iv) p.467 note^a by Barth. As no author of the name of Pārada is known this passage may mean "gold whose lustre is never dimmed".

much later Sanscrit version of Somadeva of Kashmir¹. Viçâlāksha is mentioned as a writer on Niti in the Daçakumârcarita (c. 6th century A.D.) and as one who did not succeed in carrying out his own precepts. Çura is a Buddhist poet and is the author of the Jâtakamâla. Very little about him seems to be known. Bhîmaka is now known only by some selections from his poetry in Sanscrit anthologies.

In the 16th^(p.457) stanza we have a reference to the poet Mayûra :- "The sun has been satisfied with the eulogy in verse by Mayura (a peacock or the poet of that name) but the king to rival the sun has his feet worshipped by a host of swans (or great princes) every day". Mayûra was the father-in-law of Bana, the court poet of Harsha, and was the author of the Surya-Çataka (hundred stanzas in praise of the sun).

Barth is surprised that the writer of the inscription, who takes such a keen delight in playing on words, forgets to mention Bâna who is a past master in this art. But for a Kambuja scholar of the 9th century the acquaintance with Sanscrit literature shown here is very creditable. Some of the authors mentioned here are at present only obscure names in India but they must have been popular in their times for their fame to have reached Indo-China at this period.

In the 19th stanza (I.S.C.C., p.478) we hear of a naval victory won by the king. In a (maritime) expedition for victory, thousands of ships stretching on all sides on the great sea white with their sails (or white and black)

1) Katnâ-sarit-sâgara.

have been dispersed by him as in the days of yore myriads of petals of the lotus of Brahma were scattered by madhu and Kaitabha".

In stanza 26 on p. 479 there is another reference to Gunādhyā the author of Brihat Kathā :- "What to say of people who had only good qualities, again he knew to put again in his proper place a Gunādhyā¹ (the author ^{of} with that name or a man of good qualities) whom he had blamed before (in the case of the author for having used Prakrit and in the case of the person of good qualities for having some bad qualities too). Even poison can be a fine decoration when used by Hara -- what to say of the moon (with her spots)".

In stanza I, p.483, Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāma-sutra, is mentioned :- "Simply by his (i.e. the king's) graceful movements rivalling with theirs, beautiful women have mastered the principles of the art of love as taught by Vātsyāyana and others". In stanza 13, p.485, the king is said to be the author of a commentary on the Manābhāṣya^{thy} of Pāṇjali¹¹ :- "The Bhāṣya^h, every word of which troubled the grammarians as if it were poison from the mouth of the king of snakes (this is an allusion to the tradition that Pāṇjali was an incarnation of Ṣaṣa-Nāga), on account of his ^(the king's) nectar-like commentary issuing from his auspicious mouth, has ^a again become usable for educational purposes".

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- 1) For the story of Gunādhyā and how he retires into the forest after having lost the wager see Lacote's Essay on Gunādhyā and the Brihat-kathā.
- ii) This work is itself a commentary on Pāṇini's grammar.

In stanza 21, p. 505, we have a reference to the newly constructed capital :- "He who defended the Kambupuri (the capital of Kambuja) impregnable (Ayodhya) of terrifying aspect (Vibhishana), with the aid of good counsellors (with Sumantra as his friend) and with prosperity (Sila) as its ornament, like the ^{clerk} ~~pendant~~ of Raghu (i.e. like Râma who reigned over Ayodhya^a with Sumantra as his friend, Sila as ornament and Vibhishana as his guest)".

Allusions to the Mahabharata and the Harivamsha are frequent. The author of these inscriptions must have been very learned in classical Sanscrit literature and it is a great pity that instead of employing all the resources of his art for eulogising the king he has not given us something more substantial.

The 6th Hindu inscription engraved in North Indian characters¹ is not a royal decree. It gives the genealogy and the pious works of Muni Çivaçakti who, as we have already seenⁿ (p. 41), belonged to a matriarchial family related to the queen of Jayavarman II.

Now we come to the Buddhist inscription discovered in the temple of Tep Pranamⁱⁱ quite close to the royal palace of Angkor Thom. It is also engraved in North Indian characters and is of the same series of royal inscriptions as those at the four corners of the lake Thnal Baray. But while the latter commemorate the foundation by Yaçovarman of a Hindu monastery the Tep Pranam inscription deals with the foundation by the same monarch at the same time of a Buddhist monastery.

1) I.S.C.C., p. 533.

ii) Ed. by M. Coedès, Journal Asiatique, March-April, 1908, p. 10 - 17.

After the invocation to Ġiva in the first two stanzas (which are the same as in the Tnal Baray series) here we have in the third stanza an invocation to Buddha. "He who after having himself comprehended has made the three world understand the means of deliverance from the bonds of this life. . . . salutation to him who has conferred the blessing of Nirvana, the Buddha of compassionate heart, whose feet are to be adored. Then follow 15 stanzas containing the genealogy of the king exactly in the same words as in the di-graphic inscriptions and in the Tnal Baray series. But the praçasti or eulogy which comes next (and consists of 28 stanzas) is quite original. In writing eulogies the pandits of Kambuja are inexhaustible. The 46th stanza would suffice as an example :- "What of the victory of Hari won over the enemy of Aniruddha¹ by revolving his cakras (disc)! He (the king) without revolving his disc has triumphed over a hundred indomitable (aniruddha) foes". The next (47th) stanza states :- "King Yaçoverman, king of kings, the lord of the land of Kambu, has built this gayatâgrama (Buddha monastery) for the well-being of the Buddhists". Then follow the çâsana laying down the regulations to be observed by the abbot who has the same title of Kulâdhyakça here as in the Hindu inscription. The order of precedence here^(Kavyas 5746) is almost the same as in the Tnal Baray series :- First the king, then the Brahmins, and after them princes, ministers, generals, etc. The only point of difference is to be found in the 57th stanza

1) Aniruddha is Kriçna's grandson. Kriçna liberated him when he was a prisoner in the hands of Bâna.

:- "A little less than a Brāhman possessed of learning the Ācārya versed in Buddhistic lore or grammar is to be honoured and in preference he who excels in both". In the Tnal Barai series the corresponding stanza dealt with the Ācārya of the Āiavas and of the Pācupatas. Indeed one is struck with the extremely small amount of difference between the Buddhist inscriptions and the preceding Hindu ones. Even the funeral offerings to the departed souls are not omitted here. ^(Hanga 63) Stanzas 67-72 are however distinctly Buddhist but unfortunately the corresponding stanzas of the Tnal Barai series have been effaced. "On the 14th of the bright fortnight of Kā Nabhasya (August-September) there should be a festival, offerings should be given as is prescribed in the Buddha-śāstras. On this day and also at the full moon of the month of Tapasya (^{rainy} Feb-March) those who have bathed in the tirtha known as the Yaḡodhara lake are to be feasted. The yatis who have conquered the senses, who observe the three sandhyās, who are devoted to studies and are of good conduct, who are free from the duties of householders, having no other shelter in the rainy season, living on one meal per day, fulfilling the duties of their religion, should be lodged in the ganga-tāgrama". Then follows the account of the daily doles to be given to the bhiksus and yatis who are devoted to studies:- "Four twig tooth-brushes, eight betelnuts, half an adhaka of rice and 60 leaves of betel, one handful of dipikā (digestive grain) and a faggot of wood -- all this should be given to an ācārya". To the aged yatis all these things, in a somewhat smaller quantity, are to be given and to the younger yatis in still smaller quantities. Instead of the two kinds of

ashes, the receptacle for ashes, etc., which are to be presented to Ācāryas in the Āiva Āgrama here in the Buddhist monastery the Ācāryas and aged bhikṣus should have an incense vase, a jar and a receptacle for fire per head to be carefully used for a period of four months. Among the sacred vessels here (stanza 94) we have the alms-bowl in the place of the vase for ashes of the Āiva Āgrama (stanza 15, p. 431. I.S.C.C.). It is curious that the cakra is mentioned here among them. It may be the dharma-cakra, the wheel of life. Then the slaves, male and female, who are to serve ^{turn} by turn ^(Nāṇyas 95/10), are enumerated¹ :- "Two scribes, two custodians of the royal hut, two in charge of books, two providers of the betel leaf, two water-carriers, six preparers of leaves (palm leaves for writing?), four torch-bearers, servants for cooking vegetables etc., two supervisors for these and eight to prepare food, twelve female slaves for cooking rice -- this would make a total of fifty". For the learned adhyāpaka (the professor of the monastery) there are three special slaves put at his disposal; nine slaves, one female slave, two razors, five garments, two needles, and ten agriculturists are for the service of the kulapati (the abbot?). "If the kulapati kulādhīpa (same as kulapati?) does not follow this çāsana he will be punished without mercy by the king and will be handed over to the tapasvins (ascetics)". Finally "those who would make this Āgrama flourish would dwell with their relations in the sinless,

 1) The corresponding stanzas of the Tinnal Baray series are missing.

excellent abode of the lord of the gods where there is no trouble as long as the sun and moon shine on the earth".

Let us now turn to the greatest achievement of Yaçovarman -- the building of his capital Yaçodharapura (or Mah Kambupura). The S^uok ka Thom inscription¹ states :- "Then his Majesty Parama-Çivaloka (the posthumous name of Yaçovarman) founded ~~in~~ the city of yaçodharapura and brought ~~to~~ the Jagat ta rāja (the Royal God) out of Harinarālaya to be placed in this capital. Then His Majesty erected the Central Mount (Vnam X Kantal in Khmer). The lord of Çivâçrama (vamaçiva who was the tutor of Yaçovarman in his youth) consecrated the holy Linga (i.e. the Royal God) in the middle (i.e. inside the Central Mount). Having accomplished this with the aid of royal corvées the lord of Çivâçrama informed the king of it".

yaçodharapura is now known as Angkor Thom and the Central Mount (Yaçodhara-giri) is the great central tower of the Bayon. According to Aymonier the çivâçrama, of which we hear so much in the diagraphic inscription, was the Bayon itself. From the S^uok ka Thom inscription it seems that the Çivâçrama was begun in the reign of Yaçovarman's father by the two priests of the Royal ~~and~~ God Çivasoma and Vamaçiva. It must have been then finished early in the reign of Yaçovarman. Probably the capital city was constructed in the following order :- first the temple of Bayon (or the Çivâçrama) without its great central tower, next the moats, ramparts, avenues and gates of the city (and perhaps the palace) which received the name of yaçodharapura, and finally

1) Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, p. 313. (B.E.F.E.O., XXV, II, p. 37)

the wonderful tower of the Bayon exactly in the centre of the rectangular city¹.

I shall try now to describe very briefly the magnificent ruins of the greatest city of Indo-China. A moat, 330 ft broad, ~~inaxixxx~~ encircled the capital which had for its second line of defence a high wall of limonite. The city is a square each side of which is a little more than two miles. According to Groslier¹¹ the ~~inhabitations~~ of the common people were for the greater part outside the moat - the interior being reserved for the great temples and monasteries, the seat of the administration and the mansions of the aristocracy. Very few cities in the whole world in the 9th century A.D. could have rivalled Angkor in size and grandeur. Exactly in the centre of the great square rises the grand temple of the Bayon the purest specimen of Khmer architecture. To the north of this edifice is a sort of vast forum round which are grouped other buildings. Three avenues lead from the city gates to the Bayon and two others (there are 5 gates, two on the eastern side of the square and one on each of the other side) ^{to} ~~at~~ the forum¹¹¹. The structures which face the forum are (from left to right) the Bayon, the Bapuon (built later), the Phimeanakas (Vimānākas - the sky tower), in the middle of what was the royal palace, with a richly adorned terrace overlooking the

1) Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge, (1920), p. 85.

11) Groslier, Angkor, p. 55-56.

111) J. Cormaille, Aux Ruines d'Angkor, p. 108.

forum, then what is now known as the terrace of the leper king with its sculptured representations of royal courts, Tap Pranam (the Buddhist monastery which we have already discussed), the ~~group~~^{group} of Pran Pithou which probably (according to Aymonier) was a religious seminary or college, the so-called royal magazines and the Buddhist terrace.

On both sides of the avenue, round the tanks, near the temples - in short throughout the area within the city ramparts, enormous quantities of fragments of bricks, tiles and pottery testifying to the density of the urban population in the palmy days of Kambuja. Kambupuri is now a complete ruin and this is due to the vandalism of its conquerors and the rank tropical vegetation.

The city gates are noble structures with guard-rooms on each side. Three-headed elephants which have almost disappeared now seem to support on their backs the tower above the entrances. Five avenues, 8 100 ft in width and nearly a mile in length, lead from the gates to the heart of the city. One gate is still called the gate of victory and the other ~~the~~ gate of death. A large number of tanks of various sizes with masonry embankments are to be found within the city walls. The deeper and the larger ones were probably the sources of the water supply of the city.

The Bgyon, in the centre, is the grandest building of the city. It is ⁷the form of a pyramid with three stages crowned by high towers. A rectangular gallery constitutes the first stage. Its walls are covered with bas-reliefs. Along the whole length of the gallery there is an uncovered

platform with elegant railings. In front of the principal entrance there is an extensive platform with two tanks on each side. Between the gallery of the first stage and that of the second stage there is an open space 60ft. in width and at the two corners on the eastern side (which is the front) there are two detached small buildings which are popularly called libraries. . As we shall see later on such buildings were really libraries. The second gallery, higher up, is not on the same level. In the centre the level is higher than on the two wings. Then this gallery has two verandahs, one overlooking the first gallery the other facing the interior. The wall is covered with bas-reliefs. Within the second gallery there is a third gallery which is not rectangular but redan-shaped and from its middle rises the third stage crowned by the central tower which is badly damaged but is still standing. From its height of 150 ft. it looks down on the ruin of forty other towers of smaller dimensions which surround it on all sides. And all the towers have four human faces on the four sides chiselled with consummate art. They represent Çiva, serene in yoga, with a third eye in the middle of the forehead. The locks of the god are very finely carved and from the account of Tchou Jou Koun it seems that they were gilt at that time. Even on the most inaccessible parts there is exquisite decorative art. The dark shrine under the tower is now empty. There is a big hole which treasure-hunters have dug in the centre.

Such is the Bayon, the chef d'œuvre of Khmer

architecture. Though smaller than Angkor Vat it is ~~a~~ more artistically designed and the decorative work here is of finer workmanship. But Angkor Vat is better preserved and therefore better known to the outside world.

The bas-reliefs show somewhere ~~the~~ battle scenes, the chiefs mounted on elephants with bows in their hands, the common soldiers with short lances and shields and some with cords tied round their chests. ~~xxxx~~ Another scene shows us bearded Brahmins with their sacred threads seated under shady trees. Then there are wrestling matches, musicians with elegant harps and jugglers showing acrobatic feats. In another the king is seated in a balcony dressed only in a dhoti, with a necklace as the sole ornament. There are courtiers all round him and under the balcony stags, bulls, ^a rhinoceros, a hare, etc., are ^e led in a procession by men. Funereal urns carried with great ceremony, princesses in palanquins, covered chariots drawn by oxen, fishing scenes, naval fights, elephants bringing on their backs chests full of booty from conquered countries or tribute from dependencies, Giva burning with the fire of his eyes the god of love ¹, etc., are represented in the reliefs.

A very recent discovery at the Bayon has brought to light a series of pediments on the porches of the second gallery, concealed (perhaps deliberately) by additions to

1) This relief represents ~~xxxxx~~ episodes from the Kumāra Sambhava of Kālidāsa.

the third stage, in which is represented Avalokiteśvara standing on a lotus, with the figure of Amitābha in his crest, holding in his hands the lotus, the book, the rosary and the glass and surrounded by flying apsaras. M. Finot¹ is now of the opinion that the Bayon may originally have been a Mahayana Buddhist temple dedicated to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara the incarnation of mercy. ~~Here probably Giva and the Bodhisattva may have been both enshrined there.~~

Leaving the Bayon to the north-west of it is the royal Terrace about 1200 ft. in length and 13 ft. in height. It is probably the platform from which the aristocracy might have watched public spectacles in the amphitheatre below¹¹. The reliefs on the front of the terrace are the most artistic in Kambuja. The elephants, ^{ca}nearly of life-size, are lifelike too.

Behind the terrace is the site of the palace now ~~totally razed to the ground~~ demolished. The only portion still standing is a pyramid-shaped temple Phimeanakas (Viman-akas, the sky tower) in the courtyard of the palace. There was probably a wooden tower of magnificent design crowning the shrine which according to an inscription is a temple of Viṣṇu. Popular tradition however describe it as the royal bedchamber where the Nāgi ancestress used to appear every night.

Further to the north is the terrace of the leper king. It is higher than the Royal Terrace and it is of the shape

1) Etudes Asiatiques, t. 1, p. 246-247.

11) According to the inscriptions the king himself seems to have taken part in the feats of ~~the~~ prowess in the public arena.

of a cross. Kings, queens, nymphs, etc., are sculptured on the front. On the terrace is to be found the well known statue of the leper king (Sdach Komlong), a nude figure with a fine moustache. Tradition says that the founder of Angkor Thom died of leprosy. Already in the 13th century Tcheou Ja Kouan who came with the Chinese ambassador had heard of the leper king. People in the neighbourhood still show in a small valley to the north of the capital the retreat where the king had withdrawn when afflicted with the dreadful malady and where he was cremated¹. However that may be, the name Yagoverman was never adopted by any of his successors. An old Khmer legend ascribes this tragic end of the king to be the curse of a rshi. He must have died after a reign of 20 years for the inscription of Phimeanakas, dated 910 A.D. mentions him as if he were recently dead.

1) Brigandet in his Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. II relates an Indian tradition:- "There was a king of Benaras who, being afflicted with leprosy, quitted his capital and retired into a forest to the north of his capital."

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.

Harshavarman, the elder son of Yaçovarman and Içanavarman II, the younger son, ascended the throne at Yaçodhara-pura (Angkor Thom) one after the other on their father's death. We do not know when the first ceased to rule and was succeeded by his second brother. Their posthumous names were Rudraloka and Parama-rudraloka respectively and their âcârya (the priest of the Royal God) was Kumârasvâmi the nephew of Çivâçrama. The inscription of Phimeanakas (Vimanakas), dated 832 ç (910 A.D.), should probably be put early in the reign of Harshavarman. It is a Vaiṣṇava inscription and in the second stanza¹ we get :- "I salute Viṣṇu, who is to be meditated upon, on whose breast rests Lakṣmī and in whose arms the earth and on the lotus springing from whose navel dwells for ever Brahma. . . ." Then we have :- "There was a king of kings, Çri Yaçovarman, whose orders were borne on their heads by innumerable kings, and who was mighty as Indra or Upendra (Viṣṇu). . . His glory, giving greater delight than the rays of the autumn moon, is sung² even now by people in their games, on their beds and in their travels/. Of this king of kings there was a minister, comparable to the minister of Indra, of the name of Çri Satyâçraya versed in the horâçâstra (an astronomical work ascribed to a certain Satya). This (minister) had obtained as reward for his fidelity to his lord a vessel made of

1) I.S.C.C., p. 549.

cocoanut-shell, a pitcher, a cup, a pearl, and prosperity with wealth as its girdle and the white umbrella^a as its smile. By him with faith has been erected here the ~~image~~ (image) of the Lord Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa), with the title of Trailokyanātha (Lord of the three worlds), resplendent in his glory on this earth...

The inscription of Vat Chacret, the Khmer portion of which gives the date 834 ^q, gives the name of Harshavarman¹ :- "There was a king of kings . . . named, Śrī Harshavarman, son of Śrī Yaçovarman, rendered happy by a new prosperity, he shone like Śrinivāsa (Kṛṣṇa). This sovereign of Kambuja, whose qualities were sung by the whole world, has given to the Lord (the god) of Adrivyādnapura (the town of the hunters of the mountain) six beautiful female¹¹ slaves for (service in the temple) ever fortnight".

The Sanscrit inscription of ~~xxx~~ Vat Tūpdei (Adhipati)¹ contains the eulogy of the kings Yaçovarman, Harshavarman and Içānavarman (II) and then mentions the pious foundations of Çikhāçiva the minister of Içānavarman.

The Khmer inscription of Phanom Presh Viher^{1v} speaks of Śrī Viralakṣmī, the queen of the king Suryavarman I, as a princess of the royal line of Harshavarman who has gone to Rudraloka and Içānavarman who has gone to Paramarudraloka. The inscription speaks of families "who kept the annals of the descendants of Kambu and who preserved the annals describing the glory of the rulers of the earth from Çrutavarman (the

1) I.S.C.C., p. 554.

11) Cf. the devadasis of South Indian temples.

111) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. II, p. 379.

1v) *ibid.*, p. 209.

semi-legendary founder of the Solar dynasty of Kambuja) to Suryavarman I". The copies of these annals were apparently kept in the temples of *Çri Çikharicvara* and *Çri Vridhaçvara*.

Another Khmer inscription of Tuol Peiⁱ, dated 844 ç (922 A.D.), gives the order of a king (whose name is not given but who must be *Içanavarman II*) addressed to a noble *Mratân Çri varendrârimathana* asking him to procure from *Vap Cina* (a Chinese gentleman?) slaves, gold, silver, etc., apparently for a temple.

Aymonier would assign to the sons of *Yaçovarman* the construction of the temple of *Banteai Kdei*, to the east of Angkor Thom, with a deep tank in front which has not yet dried up. The neighbouring temple of *Ta Prom* has also got the same features such as towers with four human faces, concentric galleries and a sanctuary of the form of a cross. Both seem to be Buddhist shrines and may be ascribed to the same periodⁱⁱ.

The next king was *Jayavarman IV*, the husband of *Yaçovarman's* sister. Perhaps he was an usurper as during the reign of his nephew *Içanavarman II* we find him as the *adhipati* (viceroy) of *Koh Ker* the place to which he (*Jayavarman*) removed the capital on ascending the throne in 850 ç. The *Koh Ker* inscription which is dated 845 ç, is badly damaged but the third stanzaⁱⁱⁱ seems to indicate that *Jayavarman* was associated in royal powers conjointly with his predecessor (his nephew *Içanavarman II*).

i) Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, t.i, p. 443.

ii) Aymonier, *histoire de l'Ancient cambodge* (1920), p.108-9.

iii) Barth's note, ~~p. 558~~ 560. I.S.C.C.

The brief Sanscrit inscription of Prasat Neang Khman¹ (the tower of the black lady) gives the date 850 q (928 A.D.) for the accession of Jayavarman IV. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription states¹¹ :- "The king Paramaġivapada (the posthumous name of Jayavarman IV) left the city of Yaġodharapura (Angkor Thom) and went to reign at Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar) and he took with him the Jagat ta Rāja (the Royal God). The members of the family (of the hereditary priest of the Royal God) served the divinity as before and the venerable Iġanamurti, grand nephew of ġivāgras, the high priest (ācārya), on account of being the head of the family, established himself at Koh Ker."

Why Angkor Thom was deserted we do not know. If the new king was really an usurper he would perhaps prefer to rule at his old place, Koh Ker, of which he was the governor. Koh Ker is about 40 leagues north of Angkor and is ~~sit~~ situated in a wild barren country. The ruins of the new capital still show the usual large artificial lake and a principal temple among a dozen secondary temples. The city is not oriented as usual. What should have been the North-South axis is inclined to ~~be~~ ^{the} West at an angle of 20° . Aymonier tries to explain this unusual feature by drawing attention to three huge monoliths shaped into lingas, facing the ruins. These rocks were taken as natural lingas, a high shrine was built to shelter them, and the city was probably

1) Aymonier, t.i, p.183.

11) Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., xv, II, p. 90.

planned to face them.

On the lintel of the tower of the principal temple Vishnu is represented in his Nrsimha (man-lion) incarnation killing Hiranyakasipu (the demon king). There is also the figure of Vishnu in relief on the pediment of the main gate of the temple. The fragments of a colossal statue (about 16 ft. in height) representing a king (perhaps Jayavarman IV) have also been found within the temple precincts. Traces of wooden statues of the Buddha have also been discovered¹.

Thirty-five Khmer inscriptions, badly damaged, have been found on a petty monument north-east of the great tank. These, as far as they can be deciphered, contain interminable lists of slaves dedicated to temples. "Tai (female servant), tai rat, tai pau, si (male servant), si rat, si pau" -- thus goes on the list (rat and pau mean two classes of servants) and there are about 4000 such entries.

The inscription of Prasat Pra Dak mentions Jayavarman IV as the "redoubtable opponent to the hostile kings such as the ruler of Champa". He was succeeded by his younger son Harshavarman II in 8⁶⁴ (942 A.D.) according to the inscription of Kedei Char¹¹. The noble Kavindrâri-mathana, who, as we shall see, plays an important rôle in the next reign, is already mentioned in this inscription. The new ruler also resided at Koh Ker. He is mentioned by his posthumous name of Brahmaloaka in the Khmer inscription

1) Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, t.1, p. 397 et seq.

11) *ibid.*, p. 372.

of Rolom Tim¹ in connection with a law-suit :- "In the time of the king who has gone to Brammaloka a certain person, Vap Rau, had borrowed a buffalo from Sten (Brahman?) of Vnam Creu (a temple?). In order to be exempted from the royal corvée he gave the buffalo to Vap Nos -- the head of the collector of the paddy tax. In exchange for the buffalo Vap Rau gave a slave, the tai Kan Hyan, (the "shell") to Sten of Vnam Creu who dedicated her to service in the temple of Givapattan. In a short time this woman took to flight. Then Sten asked Vap Rau to replace her. At first he consented and promised to give the tai Kampit (the "knife") to replace Kan Hyan in the service of the temple. But afterwards he refused to hand her over to Sten. He was tried and found guilty. The tai Kampit was handed over to Sten who employed her in the service of the god. . . Judge -- The Kamsteu An Cri Bhupativarman; Assistants -- the Lon Pitranandana, the Lon I, the Lon Anandana, the Lon Panditâcârya; Witnesses -- the Mratan, Cri Dharanindrapakalpa, the Sten An. . . the "usher" of the sacred court of justice".

Harshavarman II reigned only two years and was succeeded by his elder brother Rajendravarman in 866 \pm (944 A.D.). The old Khmer story of Prince Baksei (Skt. Pakṣi . bird) Chan Krang (whom the bird covered) is supposed by Aymonier¹¹ to refer to this prince. According

1) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t.ii, p. 246 & 247
 11) Le Cambodge, t.i, p. 219.

to the story he had to fly from the wrath of his brother the king whom, according to a prophecy, he was to replace. He had to hide himself in a rock behind the temple of Phnom Baset. It was probably after a bloody fratricidal struggle that Rajendravarman ascended the throne and in order to get away from a place associated with his brother he abandoned Koh Ker and returned to Yaçodharapura (Angkor Thom).

The record of the High Priests (the Sdok Ka Thom inscription) states :- "Then H.M. Çivaloka (the posthumous name of Rajendravarman) went to reign in the city of Yaçodharapura and took with him the Royal God. The members of a family (of the High Priests) served the deity as before. The Sten an Atrâçiva, as the head of the family, was the priest of the Royal God and âcâryahoma."

Before we proceed to the long Sanscrit inscription of this reign we may as well examine some of the Khmer inscriptions, which, though of a humbler character, discuss rights of property, law suits, etc. several inscriptions of Râjendravarman record royal decisions regarding the proper boundaries of estates belonging to temples or private individuals. The (Khmer) inscription of peak Ta Charek¹ is a copy of a judgment of a law court:- "In 884 ç (962 A.D.) a royal order from His Majesty commanded (the court) to go and try the case of the Mratan (a title of nobility) Kurun Virabhakti garjita, lord of the territory of Virapura

1) Le Cambodge, as t. 1, p. 384-5.

who had sent (some of his followers) to destroy the field boundaries and to reap the rice harvest of the plot of land belonging to Vâp (father) Nâc. Now the Mratan Çri Virendravarmā and the Mratan Nṛpendrârimathana had previously purchased the land from vâp Nâc and had respectfully asked from His Majesty a royal order of donation, together with the fixing of boundaries, in favour of Vâp Cû and his family (sole proprietors) in the future. It was of this plot of land given by royal sanction that the Mratan Kurun has destroyed the boundaries and reaped the rice harvest. The case being tried the Mratan Kurun was found guilty and it was discovered that he had done this at the instigation of Vâp Amrita. Therefore the tribunal has sentenced the Mratan Kurun to a fine of 10 - of gold. vâp Sri, his younger brother, who ordered the reaping of the rice harvest, has been condemned to be flogged 102 times on the back. Vâp Amrita is also to be flogged the same number of times. The land is to be restored to Vâp Cû and his family. The boundaries are fixed to the east, west, north and south". Another inscription (Trepeang Sambot¹) tells us of a petition of some Brahmans to Rajendravarman in the year of his accession reminding His Majesty that the slaves, elephants, cows, etc, (attached to a certain temple) constituted an old royal gift in the past. The royal answer to the petition was a royal order to two Kamsten (princes or ministers) that they should maintain the inviolability of the sacred property, setting

1) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, 21, p. 165-6.

aside all claims judicial or otherwise and preventing alienation.

The Sanscrit inscription of Baksei Chamkron¹, as we have already seen in Ch. II, gives a long genealogy going back several centuries. It is dated 869 ç and commemorates the consecration of a golden Parameçvara. After the invocation to Çiva, Viçnu, Brahma, Çiva-Viçnu (Hari-Hara), Çiva-Devî, Devî, vâgiçvari (Sarasvatî), Gangâ and Lakṣmî, there is an invocation to Kambu Svayambhuva and his wife the apsarâ Merâ, the mythical ancestors of the Kambujas. Gauri is invoked when with beads of perspiration on her limbs she shuts her eyes with fear at the time when Çiva's wrath burns the god of love. Vâgiçvari (the goddess of learning) is addressed as rising from the lake of the heart (Mânas Sarovar) of sages. The Ganges is described as falling from heaven, glistening, with myriads of stars flashing on the crests of her waves. The reference to Kambu and Mera have already been discussed.

Besides its valuable genealogy the inscription is also interesting from the standpoint of archaeology. The immediate ancestors of Rajendravarman (beginning with Indra-varman) are each honoured with a panegyric in which the pious foundations of each are mentioned thus confirming what we know from other sources.

1) Ed. by M. Coedes, Journ. Asiatique, May-June, 1909.

The inscription of Bat Cum¹, which belongs also to this reign, is not half-heartedly Buddhist as the Tep Pranam inscription of Yaçoverman. It does not begin with an invocation to Çiva as the other, but though quite orthodox in tone it could not afford to ignore, as we shall see, the sister religion which was still dominant. It really consists of three different Sanscrit inscriptions, each written by a different poet, whose names have been recorded (which is quite an unusual feature). The theme however of the three inscriptions¹ is the same. After the invocation to Buddha and other Buddhist divinities there is an eulogy of the king and a mention of the buildings constructed by him. Then follows the eulogy of his Buddhist minister Kavindrârinathana and an enumeration of his works of piety.

The first inscription of Bat Cum is the composition of Indrapandita :- "May (the Buddha¹¹) be triumphant, he who has devoted himself to the good of others and has acquired omniscience and the peace supreme and blissful. Victory to Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara), born for the good of the world, he who has shown the four noble truths and establishing the Dharma on a very firm footing has lent it the lustre of his four arms. The invincible vajrapâni, who has vanquished the hostile demon and wields the flaming thunderbolt and is skilled in destroying the heap of obstacles raised by the stream of sins committed by the proud Danavas and Kali. . .

 1) Ed. by M. Coedes, Journ. Asiatique, September-October, 1908.
 11) The first stanza is partially effaced.

There was a king of the lunar race, whose footstool shone with star-like gems culled from all ~~xxxx~~ the mines of the world, the king Śrī Rājendravarman (crowned) in 866 ç, from whose body gleamed radiance, . . .¹ He restored the city of Yaçodhara-pura, which had remained empty for a long time, and made it as Kuça did for Ayodhyā, superb like Indra's abode on this earth with houses decked with gold and towers adorned with gems. On the mount erected by him, like the peak of Meru, in the middle of the Yaçodhara lake covered with palaces and houses adorned with gems, he consecrated a Virinca (Brahma), a Devi, an Iça (Śiva), a Çāringī (Viṣṇu) and a Çivalinga. This king had a servant wise, pious and a great favourite of his who bore the significant name of Kavindrārimathana (he who crushes the enemies of the king of the wise). This (servant), who showed no pride on account of the success of his policy, prided himself on the distinctions which he had obtained from the king, such as a belt, a palanquin, a vessel of coconut shell, a ear-rings, etc. He was the foremost of those distinguished for piety on account of his own piety, the best of artists on account of his skill in art, the richest among the rich on account of his wealth, the wisest among the intelligent on account of his knowledge of the human (mind). . . In 875 ç this wise and eminent Buddhist set up here with devotion a great image of Buddha, a Divyadevi (Prajñāpāramitā) together with a Vajrapāṇi in the midst of a great many palaces and houses as if in his own excellent heart. In 868 ç he erected at Jayantadeça a statue of Jina (the Buddha), in 872 ç at -----
 1) Stanza xiii, p. ²²⁷229.

Kuticvara a Lokanâtha and two Devis. With the exception of the excellent Brahman, the Hotar, no one else should bathe here in the pure transparent water coming down from the sacred peak of Mount Mahendra (which is collected) in the auspicious trench here which though small in size confers great merit". Then follows an injunction that elephants should not be allowed even to approach this holy place lest they should crush the embankment. In the last couplet we have :- "The meritorious work of others should be preserved as well as the meritorious work of one's own". Then follows a Khmer sentence that the Mratan Çri Indrapandita has written these lines.

The first stanza of the second inscription¹ is specially interesting as the poet Râmanâgavata gives here a definition of Buddhism which he knows is something new and unorthodox :- "Let the Buddha give you the Bodhi by whom has been taught well the philosophy denying the existence of the individual soul and teaching the cult of the Universal soul though (the two teachings seem to be) contradictory". The 3rd stanza is addressed to Prajnâpâramita :- "May Prajnâpâramita preserve you from sin, O excellent people, she who like the full moon represents the fulness of the omniscience of the Buddha pure as the rays of the moon". The 21st stanza refers to the king's victorious campaign in Champa :- "His glory extends to all directions flaming like the Last Conflagration and burning the hostile kingdoms like Champa". A contemporary Champa inscription mentions that the golden statue of the devi of Po Nagar

1) Journ. Asiat., Sept-Octob., 1908, p. 230.

was taken away by the greedy Kambujas". The 30th stanza refers to the fervent belief of the minister in Buddhism :- "He who acquired the knowledge (attained only) ^{by} Yogis by realising the identity of his own with the divine nature of the Buddha".

The third inscription thus addresses the Buddha :- "May the Buddha reign who has destroyed Māra (Evil) by the asceticism of Samādhi. Having obtained the imperishable kingdom -- the Bodhi (wisdom) -- the supreme sovereign rejoices in the splendid palace of Nirvāṇa". The 33rd stanza (p. 251) states :- "Having no other longing but the Dharma^m of the Buddha he (the minister) was the first among the Buddhists; nevertheless he was bound in devotion to this king -- the Supreme Lord (^{or} Śiva)".

To Rājendravarman's reign should also be ascribed the inscription of Prāsāt Kṇā (Coedes, *Etudes Cambodgiennes*, B.E. F.E.O., XI) which corroborates the tradition which still names as libraries the small buildings generally located to the east of a shrine. Found in such a place this inscription states that this library (pustakāgrāma) was built by Hiranyaruci.

Rājendravarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman V in 890 ç (968 A.D.). The inscription of Prea Eynkosey¹, dated 890 ç, mentions both him and his father. The invocation is striking :- "The One (God) spreading Himself in fire, wind, the sun, and united (again) in the sweet sound of the letters of the Udgitha (OM) - (may He protect you)". Then there is a reference to a prince of Aninditapura, of the race of Kaundinya (the ^{Lunar} ~~lunar~~ race), who was a predecessor of Rājendravarman.

1) I.S.C.C., p. 84 et seq.

"This king (Rājendravarmān) had a son who, having established the castes and the āśramas (the four stages of a Brahman's life) on a sound footing, delighted the Lord". His name (i.e. of the son of King Rājendravarmān) is given in the next stanza, which has been badly damaged, as Jayavarmadeva. "When he (Jayavarmān) marches (with his army) the earth with its mountains is disturbed by the trampling of his troops like a sea by a tempest. . . . With the agreeably mixed sounds of the drum, beaten dexterously and the clashing of the copper cymbals, with karadis, timilas, vinas, venus (flute), bells and mridang with puravas, panavas (a kind of drum), bheris, kâṇalas and innumerable conches he struck terror into the heart of the enemy". The 19th stanza (B) gives :- "He (i.e. the king) who is repeatedly saluted by Brahmanas famed for their heroism, of fine tastes, who have dissipated the darkness of sin, who are the essence of the knowledge of the Vedāntas, who are devoted to the path laid down by the smritis, free from passionⁿ without avarice, living examples of the eight perfections (or members) of the Yoga, who have regulated their lives by the path of the sun, who are always drenched in the nectar of meditation and who are versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas". In the 21st and the following stanzas we have :- "The younger sister of this (king) of far-spread renown, the daughter of King Rājendravarmān, Indralakṣmī, the wife of the illustrious Brahman, has erected lovingly the image of her own mother in the year 890 ç. The son-in-law of the ruler of the earth named Rājendravarmān . . . the brother-in-law of King Çri Jayavarmān the deva Bhatta Divākara, having set up in the

Madhuvana three divinities consecrated them to Bhadraveçvara. Being provided with a carriage of gold and other precious objects, glittering with wonderful ornaments and jewels, presented with abundant land, silver, copper, gold, cattle, slaves, female slaves, buffaloes, horses and elephants and having made Bhadraveçvara the sole (possessor) of all those sources of enjoyment, the deva (Divâkara) himself ordered six Khârikâs of rice to be given yearly for food to those who came to this place". In the 28th stanza is given the birthplace of the Brahman Divâkara :- "There where the lovely Kâlindi¹ (flows), where the (land) echoes with the mantras of Ric, Yajus and Sâm repeated at each savana (tri-sandhyâ) by 36,000 Brahmans, there where Kriṣṇa, who trampled on the black snake, the destroyer of the Daityas, played in his childhood -- there was born this deva, the Bhatta called Divâkara". So the son-in-law of the King of Kambuja was a Brahman from Brindâvan in North India and thus the name Madhuvana which he gave to his âgrama in Kambuja was no doubt a reminiscence of the banks of the Jumna in the mother country.

The inscription of Srey (Çri) Santhor¹¹, belonging to this reign, is Buddhist and reveals the rapidly rising importance of Buddhism in the state at this period. Kirtipandita, the minister of Jayavarman V, had caused it to be engraved. Stanzas 51 to 100 contain the instructions of the king, promulgated by the minister, in support of the moral

1) The Yamunâ (Jumna).

11) Revue Archéologique, 1883, p. 182-192, "Une inscription Buddhique du Cambodge" by Senart.

teaching and the doctrines of Buddhism. The invocation is to the three Kâyas (Dharma^m Kâya, Sambhoga Kâya and Nirmâna Kâya) of Mahâyâna Buddhism :- "I salute the Dharma^m Kâya (the body of the law) which, disengaged from the material (world), like the moon freed from eclipse, shining in pure hearts as the moon glitters in clear waters, invests everything with its radiance like the moon. Bow down to the Sambhoga Kâya (the body of bliss), which is for the body of the Law as is the sun's orb for the sun, indispensable to the Buddhas for manifesting (to the world) truth in all its variety. I prostrate myself before the Nirmâna Kâya -- the body palpable of the auspicious Buddhas, which gives to the earth all that it desires -- the tree which fulfills all desires (itself) free from all desire".

Then Kirtipandita's zeal in restoring the sacred books is referred to :- "He lighted again the torch of true law, the Çâstra Madhyavibhâga and others, which the sins of the world had extinguished. He brought from foreign lands a large number of books on philosophy and treatises like the commentary of the Tattvasaṅgraha so that their study might spread".

Tattvasaṅgraha is known, says M. Senart, as one of the principal works of the mystic sect. The Madhyavibhâga Çâstra is supposed to be the work either of Vasuvandhu or of his brother Asaṅga. This confirms the tradition recorded by Târânâtha, the Tibetan author of the history of Buddhism, that the disciples of Vasuvandhu had carried the Mahâyâna doctrines to Koki (i.e. Indo-China)¹.

1) By the way Târânâtha mentions that in the 8th century Buddhism was so flourishing in Indo-China that many people came there from Madhya-deça.

Our inscription goes on :- "Thanks to the efforts of Kirtipandita the law of Buddha reappeared out of the darkness as in the autumn the moon comes out again freed from the clouds of the rainy season. In his person the pure doctrines of emptiness and of subjectivity, eclipsed by the might of false teachings, appeared again like the sun bringing back the light".

All interference with Çaivism is however avoided. The purohita (the Brahman High Priest of the Royal God) should be versed in Buddhist learning and rites. He should bathe on the days of festivals the image of the Buddha and should recite Buddhist prayers.

Side by side with the Bhikṣus we find Panditas mentioned and "sacrificers". We wonder what sort of sacrifices (yajnas) are meant, for Vedic sacrifices with killing of animals was repugnant to Buddhism.

So here we find Jayavarman V in the rôle of Aśoka attempting to propagate the moral teachings of Buddha by royal instructions intended for the public.

The inscription of Phnom Banteai Neang¹ (partly Sanscrit, partly Khmer) is engraved round a small bas-relief representing the seated Buddha. It deals with the consecration of a statue of the "Mother of the Buddhas" (Prajñāpāramitā) by Tribhuvanavaśra in 907⁷ or (987⁵ A.D.) and mentions also the erection of an image of Jagadīśvara by the same person and an image of Lokeśvara by his brother-in-law Somavaśra.

1) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t.ii, p. 306 et seq.

Kern¹ has translated this inscription and commented on it :- "Success! Welfare! Homage to the Supreme Truth! which is like the void sky, which, for delivering the three worlds, has assumed the Dharma Kāya (the body of the law), the Sambhoga Kāya (the body of bliss) and the Nirmāna Kāya (the body of transformation by which the Buddhas can appear everywhere to proclaim the truth). Lokeśvara, he who bears on his crest the Jina Amitābha, shines (with a radiance without limit) whereas the light of the sun and the moon are but limited. Homage to thee, Bhagavati, named Prajñāpāramitā, in whom those who have become Buddhas have attained omniscience".

The Sanscrit inscription of Lovek¹¹, which deals with the pious foundations of a priestly matriarchial family with the curious name of Sapta-deva-kula, states in its 24th stanza that "Prāṇā (one of the wives of the King Rājendrarvarman and who belonged to this matriarchial family) distinguished by her lineage, her conduct and her talents, was made, on the death of Rājendrarvarman, the head of the writers (the chief secretary?) of the inner (palace) (or the head of the private secretaries) of Jayavarman".

Remusat in his *Nouveau Melange Asiatique* quotes Chinese chronicles to the effect that ladies held important posts at the Kambuja court including that of a judge. "The offices are held mostly by the members of the royal family and

1) Verslagen en Mededeelingen de l'Academie d'Amsterdam, IV, 111, 1899.

11) I.S.C.C., p. 129.

when male members are not to be found females are chosen to hold the posts" (Ramusat, *Nouv. Mèl.*, As. I, p. 109). Their ability in astrology is also praised by the Chinese writers.

Among the buildings attributed to Jayavarman V the "Tower of the Golden Horn", at present known as Ba Puon, is the most noteworthy. The Sanscrit inscription of Prea Kev¹ gives the interesting information in the stanzas 6 and 7 that the ~~main~~ ^{muni} Cīvâcraja, eloquent, faithful to his vows, was in this temple of the tower of the golden horn (Hema-gringagiri) made by King Jayavarman the censor of good and bad qualities for the sound development of the worship of the gods. We have already seen Jayavarman V issuing instructions to the public on the moral teachings of the Buddha. Here the office of Censor is conferred on a Brahman priest. Was he deliberately imitating Aśoka ?

Ba Puon to the north of the Bayon is inferior in size only to the two largest pyramids of Egypt. Each of its sides is about 400 feet in length and the structure rises in three terraces one above the other each terrace being surrounded by a gallery. Fine bas-reliefs, representing scenes from the Ramayana, etc., are to be found on the walls of the highest gallery. Among the Rama reliefs may be mentioned the interview of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with the monkey-king Sugriva, the duel between Sugriva

1) I.S.C.C., p. 106

and Bâli, the ten-headed Râvana on a chariot drawn by lions facing Râma who is carried by Hanuman, the ordeal of Sitâ and Râma enthroned. There are also scenes from the life of Kriṣṇa, the grief of his parents at the destruction of their offspring by his uncle, his lifting up of Mount Govardhana to shelter the shepherds, etc.

The high tower which surmounted this shrine has now disappeared. Tchou Ya Kouan refers to it as the tower of copper to the north of the tower of gold and higher than the latter of which the view was very impressive.

Jayavarman V also made additions to the palace which henceforth receives the name of Jayendranagarî.

Jayavarman V (whose posthumous name was Paramaviraloka) was succeeded in 923 ç (1001 A.D.) by his nephew Udayâdityavarman I. The credit of discovering this king belongs to M. Coedes who edited the inscription of Prâsât Khnâ¹⁾ in which is found a passage :- "There was in 923 ç in the royal dynasty of Kambuja a king of kings, foremost in action, Udayâdityavarman, who with his arrows had vanquished a host of enemies up to the sea coast". We also learn that his maternal aunt was the ~~generalixgxtxtixkingixThaxehixto~~ queen of Jayavarman V and that his maternal uncle was a general of that king. The object of this inscription was the consecration of an image of Viṣṇu by an elder brother of the new king.

He however reigned only for a year, for in 924 ç

1) Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., xi, pp. 391- 406.

(1002 A.D.) we find Suryavarman on the Kambuja throne. The last king was deposed and probably lost his life in the struggle. The inscription of Prah Khan, which has been re-edited by M. Finot¹, states :- "Shaking the eight directions and the earth bent down under his dancing feet, causing Indra to wander about lamenting (his fate) by the (Whirl-) wind created by his (revolving) arms which throws down the celestial palaces. . . May the dance of the moon-crested god, the delight of the gods and of those dear to him, be propitious. Homage to Buddha, in whom ^{alone} ~~above~~ the word omniscient has found its real meaning, and whose words alone ^{are} ~~are~~ found logically true. I salute the feet of my guru which are like two boats for (traversing the tantras of the Pāramis) and whose knowledge has sprung from the favour of the three-eyed god. There was (a king) Śrī Suryavarman. . . born of the solar race whose reign (commenced) in 924 ç His feet ^{are} ~~one~~ the Bhāṣyas (of the grammarian Pātañjali), his hands are the Kavyas, his (six) organs of sense are the six systems of philosophy, the dharmācāstras are his head . . . His valour is to be judged from this that this sage muni has won in battle the kingdom from a king who was surrounded by other princes". The last line is evidently an allusion to his victory over Udayādityavarman.

During the first three years of his reign this monarch bore the name of Śrī Jayaviravarman. He claimed descent from Indravarman (the father of Yaçovarman ¹¹)

1) B.E.F.E.O., t, iv, p. 674.

11) I.S.C.C., p. 104, stanza 10.

and his queen Viralakṣmi was also related to the sons of Yaçovarman.

On the pillars of a portico near Phimeanakas among the ruins of the palace are engraved eight inscriptions containing the names of the administrators of the sroks (or districts of the kingdom) who swore the oath of allegiance to Suryavarman. The eight inscriptions begin with the same text (in Khmer) which give the oath and then follows lists of names which in each inscription occupy about 30 lines. About 4000 names can still be counted. Before each name there is generally the title Mratan (governor) and then the name of the srok is given -- e.g. the Mrâtân Khlon Çri Ranakesari of Nâgapura.

The oath of allegiance is as follows¹ :- "In 933 ç the 9th of the waxing moon of Bhâdra (August-September) Sunday. Here is the oath which we, belonging to the body of tamvrâc (lictor) of the first, second, third and fourth categories, swear all of us without exception, cutting our hands and offering our lives and grateful and stainless devotion to H.M. Çri Suryavarmanadeva, who has been in complete enjoyment of the sovereignty since 924 ç, in the presence of the sacred fire, the holy jewel, the Brahmins and the âcâryas. We shall not honour any other king, we shall never be hostile (to our king), we shall not be the accomplices of any enemy and we shall not seek to injure him (our king) in any way. We pledge ourselves

1) Coedes, Etudes Cambodgiennes, B.E.F.E.O., t.xiii.

to perform all actions which are the fruit of our grateful devotion towards His Majesty. If there is war we pledge ourselves to fight faithfully in his cause without valuing our lives. We shall not fly from the battlefield. If we die a sudden death, not in war, or (even) if we commit suicide, may we obtain the reward due to persons devoted to their lord. As our lives are dedicated to the service of his Majesty up to the day of our death, we shall faithfully do our duty to the king whatever may be the time and circumstances of our death. If there is any affair for which His Majesty orders us to go abroad to learn ^{any} ~~any~~ thing about it we shall seek to know it in detail. If all of us, who are here in person, do not stick to this oath of allegiance to His Majesty, may he reign long yet, we ask that he may inflict punishments of all sorts on us. If we hide ourselves to escape carrying out the oath may we be reborn in the thirty-two hells as long as there is a sun and moon. If we carry out loyally our promise, may His Majesty give orders for the upkeep of the pious foundations of our country and for the maintainance of our families as we are the devoted followers of our lord H.M. Si Sri Suryavarmana-deva, who has been in complete possession of the sacred royalty since 924 ⁹, and may we obtain the reward due to faithful servants in this world and in the next".

M. Coedes remarks that the similarity between this oath of allegiance and the pledge which the officials at the present time take at Phnom Pen is striking. After nearly a thousand years almost the same words are used. The two formulæ differ only by the ~~last~~ substitution of

Buddhist terms for Brahmanical.

King Suryavarman was himself a Buddhist and his posthumous name Nirvānapada clearly indicated. The inscription of Lopburi¹ (Lavapuri : Siam), dated 944 c (1022 A.D), gives us the royal edict issued by the king for the regulation of the monasteries. In all holy places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the ~~st~~naviras (Hinayāna monks?)^{and}, the Mahāyāna bhikkhus should offer to the king the merits of their piety. ~~Ras~~ People who disturb the prayers or the sacred duties of the pious should be handed over to tribunals which will try and punish them. But though a Buddhist he did not fail in constructing numerous temples consecrated to Śiva and Viṣṇu. He is also credited with having established the division of castes "for it was through him that the Brahman Śivācārya "on account of his excellent faith received the great honour of being placed/ at the head of his caste"¹¹.

The inscription of Tuo¹¹¹-Prasat (Sanskrit and Khmer) records a legal judgment. "In 925 c H.M. Jayaviravarman (Suryavarman I) being in (the palace of) four gates of Jayendranagari, the lord Śri Prithivindrapandita, whose office was to punish and to reward (i.e. the Chief Justice), and the judges of the royal court of justice, prostrating themselves before the king, respectfully read to him the Sanskrit stanzas relating to the origin and the situation of (the property

1) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. ii, p. 81.

11) Inscr. of Prea Kev, I.S.C.C., p. 106, st. 8.

111) Aymonier, op. cit., t. i, p. 379.

consisting of) the fields and the forests of Vap Sa -- the keeper of the sacred registers. Other persons had claimed the land. But the affair was closed by an order of donation of H.M. Jayaviravarman which His Majesty ordered to be engraved on this stone -- the royal pleasure having, after a favourable judgment, attributed to Vap San all the land in dispute". Then follow the names of those who assisted at this royal court of justice among whom we find the Chief Justice (whose name we have already seen), the head of the army and of the royal magazines whose name was Parākrama-vira, etc.

The inscription of prea Kev¹ tells us about the guru of Suryavarman (Stanza 6, p. 104) Yogicvarapandita, who constructed the pancagula (five spires) on the Hemagiri shrine. In stanza 10 is stated that Suryavarman ascended the throne in 924 c and shone like the sun in the firmament of the family of Indravarman. Stanzas 12 and 13 tell us :- "In the city of Yaçodharapura in the brilliant palace of the four gates glittering with gems, gold and silver, Yogicvarapandita (the royal guru) was constantly honoured by the king. There by the guru of the king, the chief ministers, by the principal persons of the court, by the Brahmans, with folded hands, with hymns of praise and with the holy fire was Içā honoured! /This refers to the consecration ceremony of the image of Yogicvara. What is ~~xxx~~ more interesting is (stanzas II and III p. 103) that Yogicvarapandita was descended from Bhās-svamini

1) I.S.C.C., p. 104.

the daughter of a Brahman who became the queen of Parameçvara (Jayavarman II). So in Kambuja not only a Brahman could marry a Kṣatriya princess but a Brahman maiden could also be married to a Kṣatriya prince. Again in stanzas 16 to 19 (p. 107) we find Çivavindu, the grandson of Çivâcârya the censor of morals during the reign of Jayavarman V, obtaining from King Suryavarman the present of a palanquin adorned with a winged dragon (which probably shows Chinese influence) and the charge of the inspection of good and bad qualities in the townⁿ of the golden horn. As his grandfather had received the same post at the same place, probably in this townⁿ the high officials received their investiture.

In the inscription of Lovek¹, which commemorates the pious works of the matriarchial family with the curious name of Saptadevakula, there is an eulogy (stanzas 6 to 9 p. 130) of Suryavarman :- "Oh ! how well versed in the Atarva (veda), his soul devoted to yoga, he bound the loyal world to himself by sevenfold threads (or by his sacrifices). Learned in the teachings of Pânini and (at the same time) most excellent he knew to cast away the chief meaning in a word^{and} metaphorically (or he did not care for the caste of a person who did good to others)". In the next stanzas we are introduced to one Kaviçvara (of the Saptadevakula) whose learning was his sole wealth and who was appointed by Suryavarman to be the priest of Çambhu on Suryaparavata. His knowledge of grammar is emphasised, he is compared with Pâtanjali with

1) I.S.C.C., p. 128.

his 1000 mouths (as an incarnation of *Ṣaṣa-nâga*¹) (we should note that grammar means in these inscriptions the Sanscrit language and hence the great importance attached to it) and he is supposed to be equal in logic to *Ka Kanâda* (the atomist philosopher of India) himself (stanza 16, p. 131).

The record of the High Priests (the *Sdok Kak Thom* inscr)) gives us a curious bit of information. "During the reign of H.M. *Nirvânâpâda* (*Suryavarman*) the members of the family (of the High Priests) served the Royal God as before. The *Sten ân Sadâgiva* was the *purohit* of the *Jagat ta Râja* (the *Deva-râja* or Royal God) being the head of the family. H.M. *Nirvânâpâda* made him come out of his ascetic life in order to give him as wife the sister of his principal queen *Viralakṣmî*. He (the king) conferred on him the title of *Kamsten Gri Jagendra-pandita*, the royal priest, the chief of the works (*Khlon Karmân/ta*) of the first class". Some passages of this inscription refer to the holy shrines being desecrated by rebels which were restored by the high priest. It appears as if the Brahmanic shrines were getting rather unpopular perhaps on account of the forced labour demanded for them from the neighbouring areas.

The inscription of *Prah Khan* (a splendid ruined temple, thirty leagues to the east of Angkor and probably Buddhist) tells us (*Kern's translation*¹¹) that *Suryavarman*, the protector of learning, had founded a college the interior

1) This legend is referred to in the book on *Pâtanjali* by *Râmabhadra Dikṣita*.

11) *Aymonier, Le Cambodge*, t.1, p. 439.

of which was devoted to the cult of truth and goodness and the exterior to the cult of beauty.

Suryavarman, the first Buddhist king on the Kambuja throne, lived in the memory of the people for by a strange anachronism his name heads the list of the kings in the first chapters (which are of very doubtful authenticity) of the modern chronicle of Cambodia which begins with the period 1340.

He was succeeded by Udayâdityavarman II, probably his son, in 971 ¹ (1049 A.D.) In the inscription of Lovek (stanzas 20 to 25) ¹¹ there is a praçasti of this king :- "Afterwards Udayâdityavarman, the lord of the earth, with his radiant glory, was born in this race of kings like the moon in the sea of milk. He excelled in captivating ladies by his personal charms, warriors by his valour, the wise by his virtues, the people by his prowess and the Brahmins by his gifts. Endowed with an unique collection of good qualities (this prince) on Suryavarman's departure for heaven was crowned the lord of the universe by his ministers. In Seeing that in the middle of Jambudvîpa there was a golden mountain -- to rival it he had a mount of gold in his capital. ^{on} At the top of this golden mount, in a resplendent golden shrine, he consecrated a Çivalinga which was bathed regularly. By this king the wise Çankarapandita. . . was appointed as guru".

The king had also another guru. The record of the High Priests, the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, thus ¹¹¹ refers

1) I.S.C.C., p. 131.

12) Inscr. of Preah Vihear, Aymonier, t.ii, p. 214. ^{no. 2}

111) Notes d'Epigraphie par L. Finot, B.E.F.E.O., t.xv, p. 93.

to this reign (the last reign mentioned in this inscription which covers the period 724 ç to 974 ç -- 802 to 1052 A.D.):-

"During the reign of H.M. Çri Udayâdityâvarman-deva the members of the family served the Royal God as before. The Kamraten an Çri Jayendrapandita was the guru of the king and bore the title of Vrah Kamraten an Çri Jayendravarman. The king learnt from him all the sciences : astronomy and mathematics, grammar, the Dharmaçâstras and all the other çâstras. He celebrated also the consecrations (dikṣa) commencing with the bhuvanâdhva (the word âdhva is a technical term in the Çaiva Siddhântas meaning stages of evolution in Çaiva mysticism) and the brahmajajna, he performed the mahotsavapujâ according to vrah Guhya ^{The Great} (Secret). The king on the other hand gave magnificent presents such as crowns, ear-rings, bracelets, and other ornaments, 200 elephants and a thousand slaves to his preceptor and conferred on him the highest title of Dhuli Jeng (the dust of the feet).

The reign of the king seems to have been a troubled one. The serious revolts were quelled by the general Gangrâma (war). The inscription of Prea Ngouk¹ gives us a stirring account of these military operations in the epic style. The first 55 lines have been badly damaged. This portion dealt with the genealogy of the general and, as far as can be made out, seems to be matriarchial. It is also connected with the royal dynasty. Jayavarman II, Indravarman, Yaçovarman, Harshavarman I, Jayavarman IV and Suryavarman are mentioned in this portion of the inscription but we cannot make out what was their connection to the family. A Brahman lady of the name

1) I.S.C.C., p. 145 et seq.

of Ambujanetrâ (the lotus-eyed) seems to have been the ancestress of the family. At last in the 5th stanza (B, p.149) we are introduced to the hero of the poem :- "Proud hero, expert in the use of arms, well known for a long time as Sangrâma".

¹"Unmatched in combat, reckoned as the foremost (warrior) by the enemies themselves, called a (second) Arjuna, no hero on earth was his equal. . . This great hero was appointed to the head of the army by the king, for the defence of the royal Lakṣmi (i.e. the prosperity of the realm), in the interests of his subjects and of (the king) himself. There was in the year 973 a hostile chief, difficult to overcome in battle of the name of Aravinda-brada (the lake of the lotus) who had made himself feared in the south. ¹¹Knowing the meaning of the Gastras, able, master of himself, with a brave army, the strong naughty (person) bore (the burden) of half the earth in the south with vigour. Devathpalkhphas, Gnânlam, Poh, Spot, Kmmonn, the chief of Avadhyapura, and other indomitable generals, sent by the king against him, fought with this enemy. All these however though excellent in valour, physical strength, arms and their troops, impetuous as the sea-waves, could not overcome in battle the enemy and his forces. This powerful enemy having crushed many great generals, Sangrama, the head of the army, saluted the sovereign and said to him :- "Grant me a favour, o king of kings. This enemy unconquerable by others I shall overcome in battle by thy grace. Appoint me (as your General)". The king of kings thus addressed, replied joyfully:

1) Stanzas 7, 9, 10, p. 149.

11) Stanza II et seq.

"Excellent! Excellent! Oh hero! I want to do as you desire". On hearing this, the general of the name of Sangrâma, saluting the king, went promptly with his army where was the hostile chief so difficult to conquer."

Having come up to the hostile army the commander-in-chief (Sangrâma) rebuked his foe for his presumption in daring to resist the might of the king¹. "The earth is to be ruled by a heroic king. Who art thou, oh miserable (wretch), who art incapable of protecting (the earth). In thy delusion thou thinkest lightly of us". Thus addressed the arrogant chief of the enemy, steadfast in battle, angrily replied to the commander-in-chief:- ¹¹"You need not try to frighten me. You should know that (often) in the past the issue of a battle has been uncertain and the earth has changed its master. Therefore you should not insult me". Sangrâma then unchained the fiery flow of his arrows and Aravinda-hrada fled as fast as he could to Champa. Sangrâma, after the rout of the enemy, went to the Igvara (Giva) of Râjatirtha.

Then begins the account of the second campaign :-

¹¹¹"There was a famous spy, clever, a favourite of the king, a valiant hero of the name of Kanvau, who was made a general of the army of the king. . . Harbouring in his heart the idea of ruining him ^{by} to whom he owed his greatness, he came out of his town one day with his troops. . . With his stream of troops well-armed, aspiring to conquer all the gods like

1) Stanza 20, p. 150.

11) Stanza 23.

111) Stanza 17 et seq, p. 152.

Râvana (though he was but a mortal), he overran the country up to the place where the hero (Sangrâma) lived. Devasrau, Vloñ, Vnur, Gam, Censrau, Camnatt, Rânñ, Kamonn, ^{we} three great chiefs of the army and many other great generals of the king -- were commissioned by the king to conquer this enemy. The enemy, having defeated them, pursued them (flushed) with victory. They (the king's officers) being killed, the king of kings said to his generals : "The heroes who die faithful to their master are served by Lakşmi in heaven. Hasten then at once with your well-armed troops, oh captains!"

Thus addressed, Sangrâma, the head of the army, made this reply:- "The gods themselves, headed by Indra, of marvellous prowess in war, cannot withstand thy spell, what to say of mortals. Remain undisturbed, Oh great king, (aided) by thy magic spell, this swallower of Indra, whom others have found so difficult to overcome, I shall destroy".

Then on the battlefield¹ rejoicing on having seen each other, impatient to snatch away the victory (from each other), these two heroes (Sangrâma and Kamvau) hastened to meet each other like Râma and Râvana. Seeing the two leaders ardent to fight a duel, their chief captains, prostrating themselves before them, spoke thus :- "Oh Lord ! O great hero! Give up the duel ! leave us, who are fit for it, the task of repulsing the hero". So saying, all, with their weapons in their hands, they placed themselves before their (respective) leaders -- each fighting with a foe of proved

Stanza 34 et seq.

valour. The sky shone with the bright flashes of knarga, ~~gat~~ gataghni, iṣa, gūla, śakti, and other weapons which were brandished. . . in one part or another (of the battlefield). . . . Seeing the arch-rebel before him, bow in hand, Saṅgrāma, an orator, thus addressed him in words naughty and of deep meaning :- "Stop! Stop! great hero! Show thy valour to me. As soon as I have tested thy courage, I shall send thee to the abode of yama". . . . karṇau having adjusted an arrow to his bow, bright and curved, aimed at the jaw of the general. The general, struck by the arrow as by a rain of flowers, was no more shaken than a mountain by a rainfall. Promptly with three arrows well feathered, hissing like the darts of Agni, he hit the enemy at the same time in the head, the neck and in the chest. Wounded by the sharp arrows the hostile chief, falling on the ground, uttered a loud cry thus announcing, as it were, the sad news to his followers. The enemy having gone to yama's abode with his captains. . . . the general reached on his way back Śaṅkha Gīva's shrine erected on Prithuṣṭhila and prostrating himself before (it) made an offering of all that he possessed.

The inscription goes on to describe a third campaign. Attacked at Prithuṣṭhila by one ^{lv} Syāt saṅgrāma is again victorious. . . . After his victories when he was presented by the king with all that he had won, he thus addresses his sovereign¹ :- "If, Oh merciful one, thou art merciful to me, order me to reap the fruit of my fidelity by consecrating this ^{sty} ~~body~~ to thy subtle inner spirit which is embodied in a linga of gold". This passage is striking as it shows the belief that even in -----
1) stanza 27, p. 157 (I.S.C.C.)

one's ^{lifetime one's} soul could dwell in ~~one's lifetime~~ in a sacred image.

This is one of the last of our long inscriptions.

The narrative portion is dealt with in an epic style which distinguishes it from all others. There is a touch of ~~genuine~~ genuine poetry in it. The style is polished and at the same time vigorous. It suits the stirring scenes which it describes. There is nothing in it to show that it was written in a country so far removed from India. ^{new para/} The inscription of Prasat Prah Khsat¹ dated 988 γ (1066 A.D.) also belongs to this reign. It refers to the restoration of a linga (which was broken by the enemy Kambau) by Samkarsha the son of the sister of king Udayārkaavarman (same as Udayādityāvarman). In the year 989 γ the same person consecrated on the same spot a curious combination of images composed of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Buddha. Buddha here takes the place of Śiva in the Trimurti. But the whole group consisting of the linga and the three images of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Buddha were dedicated to Śiva invoked under the name of "broken Śiva" (as it was formerly broken by the rebel Kambau).

Udayādityāvarman II was succeeded by his younger brother Harshavarman III. We do not know the exact date either of his accession or of his death. We can only say that he was reigning during the period 1068 and 1090 A.D.

The inscription of Lovek, which is the record of the matriarchial Brahman family named Saptadevakula, mentions this monarch in stanzas 27 to 31¹¹:- "Afterwards Harshavarman, a younger brother born of the same mother, was king

1) I.S.C.C., p. 173.
11) I.S.C.C., p. 131 - 132.

for the joy (harsha) of his people after ^{Udayâdityavarman} ~~this one~~ had gone to Heaven. Çankarapandita, as his guru, consecrated him and established him on the throne with the aid of the ministers, just as Vaçishṭha (consecrated Râma). The son of Gâdhin (Viçvâmitra) did not succeed by his royal power to seize the cow Nandini (which belonged to Vaçishṭha) but Harshavarman knew how to win her by combining force and mildness. . . . This monarch secured peace for his subjects by causing the duties of the four castes (jâti) to be strictly observed. This ruler . . . , having acquired Çankara as purohita, obtained in him, as Yudhishtira in Dhaumya (the priest of the Pândavas), the highest achievement one could desire in this world and in the next". In the 32nd stanza is stated the object of this inscription of the gaptadevakula family:- "Born through his mother of the gaptadevakula and purohita (priest) of three sovereigns (Suryavarman I, Udayâdityâvarman II and Harshavarman III) the ascetic Çankara consecrated this image as well as a palanquin to the Çankara (Çiva) of Dviradadeça (the country of elephants)".

It seems that through the influence of this Brahman Çankarapandita, there was a reaction in favour of the Brahmanism during this and the preceeding reign. There were apparently no internal troubles during the rule of Harshavarman, but we learn from Champa inscriptions¹ that a Khamer army under a prince of Kambuja of the name of Mandavarmadeva, which invaded Champa, was repulsed and that prince Pan, the brother of the Champa king, pursued the Kambuja troops into their own territory and captured a large number of prisoners and won a large booty at gambhupura (the present gambaur).

CHAPTER VIII

SURYAVARMAN II AND ANGKOR VAT

The next king Jayavarman VI seems to have been a founder of a new dynasty as his successors on the throne ^{trace} take their descent from him and do not go beyond. The Sanscrit inscription of Ban Thatⁱ and the Khmer-Sanscrit inscription of Phnom Sandak and Preah Vihearⁱⁱ are our sole authorities for this and the next two reigns. The last two inscriptions, which have a good deal in common tell us that Jayavarman 33 VI's abhiṣeka (coronation ceremony) was performed about 1012 ; (1090 A.D.) by the Brahman Divākara-pandita who remains the outstanding figure as the royal guru during several consecutive reigns. Jayavarman conferred on him the title of Bhagvat Pāda Karmaten An. During his reign and that of his predecessor and successor the Vrah Guru (Divākara) performed numerous sacrifices, excavated tanks, offered slaves, elephants, etc, to gods and panditas and places of pilgrimages (sapta devatā kṣetra).

The first part of the Sanscrit inscription of Ban That (in Laos) is illegible. In the 16th and the 17th stanzas we find the invocation still continued :- "By His own power (creating) Matter, the One, having in him the essence of the three guṇas, is (become) Hiranyagarbha, Hari.; . . by His

i) Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, B.E.F.E.O., t.xii, p. 2.

ii) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t.i, p.395-6 (Phnom Sandak); and *idem*, t.ii, p. 213 et seq (Preah Vihear).

power also he is Unchangeable. I adore Him. For producing duality by His own power He involves primeval matter. Having fulfilled this desire he reabsorbs⁴ Matter into Himself. I adore the Master. . . . " Then the narrative begins and we are told how the Lord, propitiated by the hymn, appears smiling before the Muni (whose name has disappeared) and gives to him and his family the hereditary post of priest of the linga on Mt. Bhadravara. Then we hear (in stanzas 30-33) that the king of Kambuḡa (whose name is also missing) was in search of a son of pure life, great learning and illustrious descent for the consecration of his son (as Yuvarāja). For bringing this Muni, knowing him to be trustworthy and experienced in decorum, he sent a fleet of barges well equipped for the voyage as of old Lomapāda had sent for Rikyaḡringa¹. Kings (came) from other islands. . . and on the royal road there were festive celebrations on a scale unheard of before adorned with an art characteristic of each country.

In the second part of this inscription we are told of the visit of Indra to compliment the Muni for his ~~asceticism~~ asceticism. Indra says :- "What can be more sacred in the three worlds to be obtained by man with reverence than this mountain, this Śiva-linga, the holy stream of this tirtha ^{and} yourself the jewel of wisdom". Then the god invites the muni to sanctify heaven with his presence. But the latter, though he is in an ^{ec}stasy at the God's words like a tree (after the summer) drenched by the first rain (of the rainy season),

1) Ramayana, Canto I.

modestly declines the offer and requests Indra "Let my descendants, consecrated by Ġiva to his service, remain here on Mt. Ġaivāṅghri, by your grace, to the end of time." The prayer is granted and the god departs. The muni, after teaching the Ġaiva doctrine to other munis and having put in his place the son of his sister, goes to the (abode) endless and immeasurable^e.

In the third part of this inscription it is stated that in the Matrivaṃṣa (matriarchial family) of this muni was born the lady Tilakā. Even while playing in the dust as a child she shone like the sky over the earth. In her youth not only had she a beauty most excellent coupled with / right conduct . but by the ~~xxlaxx~~ elders, the royal gurus and the most learned she was honoured publicly and proclaimed as the goddess vāḡiḡvari (the goddess of learning) and in contests of learning¹ being reckoned the foremost she was decked with jewels (stanzas I-4, pt. III). By the prediction of a sage she became the wife of a devout Ġaiva Namaḡ-Ġivāya. Their son Subhadra or yurdhāḡiva became famous as the pandita of the court of Jayavarman VI¹¹. Though well versed in all the ḡāstras, commencing with the three Vedas, he devoted himself specially to Ġaiva scriptures following the tradition of his family. In dikḡa (initiation) ceremonies more than once he made the learned drink not only Soma but also the nectar of the system^o of Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vaiḡṣika, the ^cśabda-ḡāstra (of Pāṇini) ^dand^a

1) The latter portion of this interesting stanza may also be rendered as :- "She was respected by the learned. . . who bowed down and publicly adored her as Vāḡiḡvari. . . She was worshipped with jewels in the school".

11) This and the following passages (up to the end of this paragraph) are based on stanzas 15-27 of pt. III of the Inscr. of Ban That (B.E.F.E.O., t. xii, #2)

the Bhasya (of Pāṇinī). In ~~the~~ his āśrama, full of present offered at the end of their studies by his pupils, perfumed with the smoke of uninterrupted oblations, rose the voices of students discussing difficult texts like experts. One day, during a sacrifice, King Jayavarman VI, wishing to honour a gathering of learned persons, asked the experts in scriptures to examine (the students) according to their merit. With books open before them they questioned Subhadrā. But he cut their arguments (pakṣa) in two by the thunderbolt of his learning as Indra cut the wings of the mountains. By the perfection of his merits like Yājñavalkya at the court of Janaka he eclipsed all the learned even from his youth. The king conferred on him successively the post of inspector of religious establishments and of arbitrator of disputes among the nobility in religious as well as in civil matters. Afterwards Dharanindravarman, without having any desire for the kingdom, when ~~the~~ king (Jayavarman VI) who was his younger brother went to heaven, through a compassionate heart yielding to the prayers of multitudes of people who were without a protector, governed the earth with prudence.

From the Khmer-Sanskrit inscription of PreaĀ Vihear we learn that the Vrah guru Divākara pandita performed the ~~adhipaka~~ ceremony of Dharanindravarman I. "This monarch was well advanced in years and by his qualiti^es considerably developed the seven prakritis of the state (the king, the ministers, the forts, the subjects, the treasure, the army and the allies)

1) *ibid.*, stanza 28.

In stanzas 30-35¹ we have an eulogy of Suryavarman II :- "After (Dharmindravarman)^{there} reigned a king, son of Gri Narendrakakami -- the daughter of the sister of the two preceding kings -- as Kārttikeya was the son of Bhavāni, as formidable to his enemies as the lion to elephants. The radiance of his feet placed on the heads of kings was like that of the sun. Though of the name of Suryavarman (the sun) yet for the joy of the people he was (mild) like the moon. In his early youth, at the end of his studies, the desire for the royal dignity of ^{his} house^{was roused} in him (the royal dignity which) at that time (i.e. after the death of Dharmindravarman) was shared by two masters as the nectar was shared (by the gods) and Rāhu. Pouring his army like ^{the} sea-waves on the battlefield he fought a terrific fight. Tearing down the enemy king from the head of his elephant he slew him as Garuḍa slays a serpent on the peak of a mountain. The earth was plunged in the sea of ruin wrought by the enemy; like the Boar (Vīraṇu) with its tusks he with his arms raised her scatheless (from this condition) and restored her to her normal state. The king~~s~~ kings of other islands whom he wanted to subdue -- he saw them coming with offers of tribute. He himself marched into the countries of the enemies and he eclipsed the glory of the victorious Raghu"¹¹.

In stanzas 37 to 45 there is a reference to a great temple built by this king :- "He built a group of three edifices of stone (or a ~~stupa~~^{structure} in three stages) with walls

1) Inscr. Ban That (Pt. III) ~~was supposed to be III. This line~~
 11) ~~on account of the error in the text, this line in account of a mistake~~ reading "divipatapradeṣam" instead of "divisatam pradeṣam" was wrongly rendered by Kern "the king led an expedition to the isle of copper (Ceylon)".

around, adorned with large tanks, hermitages and groves of flowering creepers which, like the three-peaked Meru, was frequented by *Ēgis* and *Apsarās*. Innumerable banners floating joyously in the air, the sound of *turyas* ascending to heaven, the sweet songs accompanying stringed instruments, the dancing girls -- all this made it like Indra's heaven. 2 The ancient accounts revealed by the voice of Suta at the *dirghasattra* of *Ṣaunaka* (the *Mañabnārata*) -- all these could be seen exactly reproduced on the walls adorned with pictures. There the sage erected at the same time an image of *Śaḍānana* (*Karttikeya*), son of *Gauri* who triumphed over *Maṇiṣāsura* and a *linga* of *Śiva*..... Finally in stanzas 53, 54 we have :- "In this *āgrama* he (the sage) collected many different kinds of books on all the *śāstras* so that they could be studied without interruption."

As *Aymonier* observes this magnificent description of the temple fits in much better with *Angkor Vat* rather than with the far humbler shrine of *Ban That*. *Ban That* has also no bas-reliefs. It is very strange that with the exception of the explanatory notes in *Khmer* on the bas-reliefs of court scenes at *Angkor Vat* no reference has been found up to this time to the greatest and most well known temple of *Kambuja*. The inscriptions of *Phnom Sandak*¹ and *Preah Vihear*¹¹, recording the pious works of the royal guru *Divākara-pandita*, allude to a great building activity which may be in connection with *Angkor Vat*.

1) *Aymonier*, *Le Cambodge*, t.1, p. 395-6.

11) *ibid.*, t.11, p. 213 et seq.

From the ^{two} inscriptions, which have got nearly the same text, and both of which have been badly damaged, we learn that Divâkara Pandita performed the abhiṣeka ceremony of Suryavarman II, thus anointing three kings in succession. As soon as he ascended ~~XXXXXX~~ the throne the young king went through the ceremonies of the dikṣas (initiation), studied the siddhântas, was initiated into the mysteries of Vraha-guṇya (the Great Secret -- probably a Tantric dikṣa), held convocations for discussing scriptures (cāstrotsava) and distributed presents (daksina) to the learned. He also performed the koṭi-homa, the lakṣa-homa and the mahâ-homa as well as sacrifices to the sacred ancestors. Apparently all this was done under the guidance of the guru Divâkara.

It is ^a curious feature of these two inscriptions that they are interspersed with Sanscrit slokas and stranger still that these Sanscrit verses are attributed by the text to the king himself. The royal verses generally sum up briefly what had been stated before in Khmer.

Then the text goes on to enumerate the donations of gold, silver, slaves, elephants, etc, by the "exalted guru" (apparently on behalf of the king) to all the shrines and especially to Bhadraveśvara. Another sloka composed by His Majesty comes in here. The tanks excavated and the monasteries founded by Divâkara are mentioned. Then there is an ~~XXXX~~ account of the royal family and the high state officials. ~~At~~ After another royal stanza is described how the towers and the pyramidal temples are ornamented. The latter portion of the Phnom-gandak inscription is illegible but we can make out donations to Śrī Campeśvara (Viṣṇu). In the

concluding lines of the Preah Vihear inscription we find that in 1041 ç (1119 A.D.) H.M. Suryavarman II gave orders for a levy of the workers whose names were in the corvée lists of the first, second and third categories. Probably the fourth category was included also but it cannot be made out as the line has been badly damaged. In 1043 ç Divākara received the title of Daull Jeng (which is generally reserved for the monarch) from the king. Was this levy of workers anything to do with the construction of Angkor Vat ?

The information we get from the Khmer inscription of Vat Phou¹ makes this problem more enigmatic. In the introductory Sanscrit stanzas we get the name of Suryavarman II and of the god Bhadravara to whom the temple of Vat Phou was consecrated. Then we hear of a petition to the saintly guru for the construction of . . . (the rest of the sentence is missing). In 1044 ç (1122 A.D.) a Çankara-Nārāyana is erected in the Vrah Prān. Now Prān in Khmer means a pyramidal temple and vat Phou is not a shrine of this type. Is this a reference to Angkor Vat ? Then the erection of an image of the Vrah Guru (Divākara) is mentioned. So he received divine honours in his life-time. In 1049 ç a Vrah Viṣṇu was consecrated. In 1061 ç (1139 A.D.) more images and a temple were consecrated with magnificent donations.

During the reign of Suryavarman II the letters of the inscriptions, which had been round in shape since the days of Indravarman I (9th century), become square. Many inscriptions of this reign in Sanscrit have been found in the northern part of the kingdom in the Dangrek range and beyond.

1) Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. II, p. 163.

They are mostly Buddhist and have not yet been edited. Buddhism seems to have been very flourishing at this period though R Brahmanism was the court religion. The Kumer inscriptions of this Monarch have all been very badly damaged -- perhaps deliberately.

This reign is also remarkable for the renewal of diplomatic relations with China which had been broken off in the 9th century with Jayavarman II's accession. In 1117 A.D., we learn from Chinese Chronicles¹, that two Kambuja officials sent by Suryavarman II reached the Chinese court. One of these two was named Kieou Mo-seng-ko (. . . Sings?). The emperor presented them court dress, listened to their compliments and ordered an account of their reception to be included in the official annals. Four years later another embassy came from Kambuja to the Imperial Court. The king of Kambuja was invested with the same title as the King of Champa. In 1128 A.D. the Emperor conferred again high titles on the Kambuja ruler and recognised him as the great vassal of the Empire. Some difficulties relating to commerce were examined and rules laid down regarding them. A brief description of the Chenla of this period is found at the end of the account of these embassies. Chenla extended from Champa to the East to Pegu (Paukam) to the West and touched Ka-lan-lai (near the Bay of Bandon in the Malay Peninsula -- this was also called Grahi) to the South. It measured 7000 lis (700 leagues). The number of its war elephants was 200,000. There

1) Ma-touan-lin's Meridionaleux translated by Hervey de Saint Denys, p. 485.

were numerous ^hhoves but they were of small size. The customs and manners of the people were like those of Champa. A tower of copper surrounded by 24 copper towers probably refers to Bayon. Four copper elephants, each weighing 4000 pounds, stood like sentinals near the entrance.

Now we come to the great riddle of Kambuja. Who built Angkor Vat and to which deity was it consecrated? The evidence seems to point to Suryavarman II and his guru Divākara-pandita as the constructors of this magnificent structure. And very probably it was a Viṣṇu temple though now it has become a Hīnayāna Buddhist shrine.

First of all the brief Kmer inscriptions, which are of the nature of explanatory notes found on the two bas-reliefs depicting court scenes and heaven and hell, are written in the square characters which characterise the inscription of Suryavarman II and his successor Jayavarman VII. These inscriptions give the name of Parama-Viṣṇuloka to the sovereign depicted in the court scenes. Now we do not know the posthumous names of two kings Udayādityavarman II (middle of the 11th century) and Suryavarman II. The square characters of the inscriptions, the brief and troubled reign of Udayādityavarman II, the frequent allusion to Viṣṇu in the other inscriptions of Suryavarman II (those of Phnom Sandak, Preah Vihear and Vat Phou) and the great building activity recorded in them make it almost certain that Parama-Viṣṇuloka was the nom d'apotheose of Suryavarman II. The names of the chief nobles ⁽¹⁾ in the court scenes are also written in the same

(1) One of these nobles, Virendrādhipatiyarman of Chok Vakula, has now been identified with the builder of the Phumai Shrine in 1188 A.D. (i.e. 4 years before the accession of Suryavarman II). Thus it is now practically settled that Angkor Vat was built during the reign of Suryavarman II and finished just after his death. (See Coedès, J.A., 1920, p. 96).

square characters and some of the titles can be identified with those given in the other inscriptions of Suryavarman II. Jayavarman VII, the only great monarch who ascended the Kambuja throne after Suryavarman II, and the characters of whose inscriptions are also square, was a fervent mahāyānā Buddhist and no trace of Mahāyānism can be found in Angkor Vat. Besides he was a warrior king whose feverish campaigns could not have given him the leisure to erect such a stupendous structure. Moreover his nom d'apotheose was mahā-parama-saṃgata as has been quite recently discovered. The legend which ascribes the construction of Angkor Vat to the legendary king Prah Ket Meslea and its dedication to Buddha by that king on the occasion of the visit from Ceylon of the Hingyāna Buddhist saint and scholar Buddhaghosa is clearly comparatively recent when Kambuja had become Hinayāna. The style of architecture and the ornamental work of Angkor Vat is decidedly considerably later than that of Angkor Thom (9th century). Thus it would be absurd to ascribe the temple to Jayavarman III whose posthumous name was Vignuloka and who reigned from 869 to 877 A.D. It might be considered that such a vast edifice could not have been built during a single reign. It is possible that the credit of being the architect of one of the most wonderful shrines of the world belongs to the last of the great Brahmins of Kambuja, Divākara-pandita who was the royal guru of three consecutive kings Jayavarman VI, Dharanindravarman I and Suryavarman II. The inscriptions tell us of his ceaseless building activity during three reigns, of his quasi-royal status and of his leaning towards Vaiṣṇavism.

Angkor Vat or Nokor Vat, the "temple of the city", is ^{not} oriented as usual. It faces the west towards the road leading to the eastern gate of the capital Angkor Thom (yagara Dham) and is at a distance of about a mile from the city. Not being cramped within a town, here everything is on a grand scale. The moat which surrounds it on all sides may well be called a lake being nearly 700 ft. in width. The causeway, ballustraded with the seven-hooded Nāgas, which crosses the moat, is 36 ft. broad. Then we reach the great rectangular stone wall enclosing the temple, about $2/3$ ds of a mile east to west and half a mile north to south. The principal entrance on the western side has a façade somewhat more than a furlong in length and consists of three gates dominated by three imposing towers. The pediments are richly sculptured. From the threshold of ^{the} gate there is a superb perspective of the great shrine rising ^{from} in three terraces. The causeway crossing the moat continues ^{from} the gate of the enclosure to the temple porch inside - a distance about two furlongs. It (the causeway) is 10 ft. ^{from} the ground ^d upheld by a line of round columns, paved with large stone slabs and bordered with Nāgas. On both sides is a park of palms. There are the two libraries here also one on each side of the causeway. Then we reach a spacious cruciform terrace by a staircase guarded by stone lions. After that is the portico consisting of a group of symmetrically arranged chambers flanked on both sides by a long gallery adorned ^{with} bas-reliefs which constitutes a rectangle (the length of whose four sides total half a mile) enclosing the shrine. The link between the first gallery and the second higher gallery is a square gallery with four deep tanks symmetric ^{ally}.

arranged. A staircase takes us to the second gallery which is separated from the first by a grassy court. Then another steep staircase leads to the third² and last gallery which has four towers at the four angles each 180 ft. high (from the ground level). Within the rectangle formed by the third gallery at the point of intersection of two galleries running east to west and north to south is the shrine (a small stone chamber) crowned by the central tower 213 ft. (above the ~~gns~~ ground level). The image enshrined has disappeared long ago.

It should be noted that the first terrace rises about 11 ft. from the ground level, the second terrace is about 22 ft. above the first and the third nearly 44 ft. above the second. From the third gallery we can look down on the roofs of the second gallery and of the first covered with tiles and adorned with finely carved eaves. The decorative work of Angkor Vat is worthy of its stupendous size. On the walls have been chiselled celestial nymphs, flowers *and* ornamental designs, ^{like} lacework. But this ornamental work, though artistic, is inferior to that of Bayon.

The bas-reliefs of the first gallery call for special comment. The southern side of the first rectangle illustrates the court scenes of Kambuja and is of historical interest. The first scene represents queens and princesses, crowned with diadems, some in palanquins, others in chariots, passing through an orchard. Female servants hold umbrellas to shelter the royal ladies, from the sun, fan them with huge fans and pluck fruit from the trees to present⁶⁵ them. The next scene takes us to a hill-side and we see the body-guards of the

consisting of lancers and archers. In front of them are Brahmins with long hair, rings in their ears, sitting rather naughtily¹. Three of them however are standing and the central figure orders the two others to bring forward plates heaped with fruit. A brief inscription (Kumar) tells us that this represents the offering of presents to the king by the Pandites. Another ^{inscription} tells us "His Majesty of the sacred feet, lord and master, Parama Vignuloka, on Mt. Civalapâda, ordering the troops to be collected". Wearing a finely chiselled crown on his head the king has heavy ornaments hanging from his ears. A necklace adorns his breast which is partly covered by a scarf worn crosswise. There are two bracelets on each arm, one above the elbow and the other on the wrist. From a richly adorned belt hangs a dagger. In his hand he holds a curious object like a lizard which is probably a scent-bag or a purse. The attitude of the king seated on his throne is graceful and he looks majestic. This is certainly one of the best of the whole series of bas-reliefs. Fourteen umbrellas (chattras) are held above his head. Four châmaras, five great fans can also be noted. Then we see the ministers, the first is "the holy lord and master Virasimhavarman" (we are told so by an inscription) who presents to the king in a kneeling posture a roll. Next to him is "the lord and master (Karmaten An), the chief (i.e. the Prime Minister), Sri varddha". Then "the lord and master" phanajaya. So this is

After him - "the holy
lord and master of merits
and faults - the fourth."

1) The description of the "galerie historique" is based on Aymonier's "Les Inscriptions en vieux Kumar" in Journ. Asiatique, August-September, 1883, p. 199 et seq.

the fourth minister who is the Chief Justice. The Kumer cabinet consisted of four ministers and at present there are also four ministers. Probably the holy title (Vrah) signifies a Brahman. The ministers have no ear-rings and the bust in each case is uncovered. They hold their right hands on their chests. Behind the ministers are generals with helmets on their heads and wearing armour.

The next scene shows us the march past of the generals each with his escort. (1) Vrah Kamraten an Gri Jayendra varmana Ldau. This general clad in armour stands on his elephant with his left foot on the howdah and his right foot on the croup of the animal. There is a javelin on his shoulder and in his left hand a shield. ^{Two} ~~the~~ umbrellas proclaim his rank. His escort wear helmets with dragons and other fantastic shapes on their crests. Four horsemen ride in front of him. (2) Vrah Kamraten An Gri Virendrâdhipati varman Chok yakula ^(this noble has been identified with the builder of the Pannai Shrine in 1108 A.D.) (the last word is the Sanscrit name of a flowering tree). He also stands on his elephant, phgâk (something like a chopper) in hand, with two daggers strapped at the back of his left shoulder. (3) Then follow two Sanjaks (chiefs who have devoted their lives to the king)—Vireyuddhavarman with bow and arrows and Jayâyuddhavarman with the phgâk. The former has for ensign a statuette of Garuda fixed on a long handle and the latter a figure of Hanuman. (4) Next comes the lord Mahipatindra varman Canlattai (cactus). (5) Then after five Sanjaks comes the Lord Dhananjaya -- the minister whom we have already seen in the royal audience relief -- and next is the king himself Vrah pâda kamraten an parama Vishnuloka who is follow

by the other minister *Gri Varddhana*. Besides the waist-band which is usually tied over the dhoti with its two ends floating in the air these three eminent personages have an additional ornamental band with its ends hanging loose. The king also stands on his elephant with two daggers strapped to his shoulder, one in his waist-band and a fourth where the two baldrics cross one another in the middle of his chest which is protected by armour. He holds a *phgāk* in his right hand. The royal elephant also wears a huge diadem on its head. The ensign carried before him represents the image of *Vishnu* mounted on a *Garuda*. (6) After two *ganjaks* appears the "Rājanota", the royal sacrificer, carried in a palanquin. His dress and the dress of the other Brahmins accompanying him consists only of a very short loin-cloth and a double baldric. They wear earrings like the king, whereas the ~~warriors~~ warriors have no ear-ornaments though the lobes of their ears are bored for wearing them. This means probably that it was a sacred procession in which earrings could be worn only by the Brahmins and the king. After some Brahmin² who are ringing bells the sacred fire (*Vrah Vlen*) is carried in an arc by men with close-cropped hair. Trumpets and conches are blown. An enormous cymbal is struck with two mallets. Two buffoons dance in a grotesque fashion. The ensign-bearers seem to play with their ensigns. (7) Then the scene seems to change. After some ~~Sanjaks~~ *Sanjaks* we see ~~Kakkmkx~~ *Jaya Simha Varma*, in the forests, leading the troops of *Lvo* (*Lopburi* in *Siam*). (8) The next figure is designated *Neh Syām Kuk*, probably some Siamese chief, of strange and uncouth appearance, with his followers. Their hair is arranged in several tiers and is

decked with chaplets. From the waistband of the chief are suspended ornaments which fall over a heavy skirt. His followers have their cheeks tattooed and look like ²savages. (2) The last of this series is "the representative of the king Paman Jin ¹Shala leading Syâm (Siam) Kuk (troops?)". Perhaps the last four scenes represent the foreign levies returning home after the review which was probably held in connection with the sacred festival.

A new series¹ begins of the Last Judgment held by Yama assisted by Citragupta followed by scenes of heaven and hell carefully annotated by short Khmer inscriptions. A few examples would suffice. (1) "Kriminicaaya (the hell of worms). ^{They} ~~Those~~ who insult the gods, the sacred fire, the gurus, the Brahmans, the learned, those who teach the dharma (Buddhist Âcâryas?), those who adore Çiva, their mothers, their fathers and their friends". (2) "Kûlaga^lmali (hanging from a thorny tree). The persons who give false evidence". (3) "Asthibhanga (breaking of bones). The people who do damage to gardens, houses, tanks, wells, tirthas, etc". (4) "Kraśicchada (cutting with the saw). The gluttons". (5) "Kumbhipâka (the hell of cauldrons). Those who have betrayed a charge entrusted to them by the king, who steal the wealth of gurus or of the poor people or of learned Brahmans". (6) "Raurava (pan of live coals). Those who do not pay their debts". There are 32 different hells depicted which seems to be a traditional Buddhist number.

There are 37 scenes of heaven. It is curious to note

1) H. Coedès, Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat (1911), p. 43.

that while the hell-scenes are depicted with great vivacity, the scenes of paradise are quite lifeless, tame and monotonous. We see the happy denizens of heaven attired like kings or queens in aërial vimanas (towers) surrounded by attendants who offer them fruits and flowers, babies and mirrors.

The Komer explanatory legends now come to an end and we pass on to the reliefs representing scenes from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa. One point to be carefully noted is the predominant part given to Viṣṇu (and his Rāma and Kṛṣṇa incarnations) in these reliefs¹. Then we have in the beginning the battlefield of Kurukṣetra (a Mahābhārata scene) with Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the front rank of the fighting warriors. Then follow eleven episodes of the Rāmāyana. Five exploits of Kṛṣṇa¹¹ appear next. Then we have four scenes in which Viṣṇu is the central figure¹¹¹. Four other scenes follow which cannot be identified but where we can make out Viṣṇu. Finally we have three scenes devoted to Śiva legends^{iv}, one of which is taken from the Rāmāyana. This preponderance of Vaiṣṇava scenes coupled with the nom d'apothéose Parama-viṣṇuloka of the king who is the central figure in the "historic gallery" leads to the conclusion that Angkor Vat was originally a Viṣṇu temple.

Among the Rāma reliefs may be noticed the death of the Rākṣasa Virādha, Rāma pursuing Mārīca, the death of the

1) M. Coedès, Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat, p. 49.

11) The breaking of the twin trees, the raising of Mt. Govardhana, the fight with Bāna, the Maniparvata and Varaka episodes.

111) Viṣṇu sleeping on Śeṣanāga, the churning of the ocean, etc.

iv) Kāma burnt by Śiva, Ravana shaking Śiva's abode, etc.

Râkasa Kabandha, the alliance of Rama with Sugriva, the ~~xxxx~~ ^{king} duel between Sugriva and ^Jâli, Hanuman finding Sita at Lanka, the Lanka battlefield, etc., ending with the return of Rama in the aerial chariot puspaka. The first 6 scenes are also found in the Rama reliefs of Prambânam in Central Java, a temple of the 9th century A.D. The Prambânam reliefs are decidedly superior in artistic merit though they do not follow Valmiki's Ramayana closely. Another point of difference is that at Angkor Vat the reliefs are so low that at first sight it seems as if the figures are incised as in Egypt. Again the Angkor sculptor like Nature abhors a vacuum. If there is the smallest empty space he would introduce there a bird or a plant. This rather spoils the effect. The Javanese artist knew better and avoided overcrowding ~~the~~ ^J figures. The Javanese sculptor is as much superior to the sculptor of Kamboja as the architect of Kamboja is superior to the Javanese architect. The Javanese temples including Borubudur cannot stand in comparison with the shrines of Kamboja.

Such is Angkor Vat which was rediscovered by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot in 1860. Wonder-struck at the quite unexpected sight of this colossal temple in the midst of an impenetrable jungle he wrote that it was the most wonderful structure in the world the like of which Greece or Rome had never built. Later visitors compared it to an Assyrian temple. And by a strange irony of fate though a wealth ^{of} material brought to light since then has restored the history of Kamboja, the origin of Angkor Vat, the first monument to be discovered, still remains enveloped in mystery.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST MONARCHS OF KAMBUJA.

Our sole authority for the immediate successors of Suryavarman II is the inscription of Ta Prohm¹, which contains a genealogy of Jayavarman VII, the last of the great monarchs of Kambuja. Here the king's maternal grandfather Harshavarman is mentioned as a king of Kambuja "who spread the canopy of his glory beyond the points of the compass". This is all that we know of Harshavarman who is supposed to be descended from the sister of Grotovarmen, the first king of Kambuja.

The inscription of Nom Van (in Laos), the last Khmer inscription we possess, seems to indicate the existence of a Jayavarman who reigned about 1090 \pm (1168 A.D.) -- this being the date of the inscription. It is a royal order addressed to several high officials and priests asking them to look after the upkeep of the monasteries (devâcramas) in the ^{region} of Ratnapura. The names and the titles of the officials (who are styled Kauraten ^{and}), the priests and their posts are ~~interesting~~ interesting. They are as follows :- (Râjendravarman, general of the army of the centre (it is noteworthy that one of the generals in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat bears this name); Travan Tannet ("pond of palms"), the president of the court; Kavindrâlaya, the professor (adhyâpaka); Yogicvara Pandita Bhagavân, the priest in charge during the second fortnight of the month, Nirvâna Bhagaven in charge of the midday ⁱⁱ⁾ services of the second fortnight". The order is also

1) Ed. by M. Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., t.vi, p.45 et seq.

ii) *Aymonier, Le Cambodge, t. II, p. 111*

addressed to other generals, astrologers, keepers of the sacred registers, treasurers, and officials in charge of the royal magazines for both the fortnights. The inscription is Śaiva. It is likely that the date of this inscription is wrongly given and in that case the King Jayavarman mentioned here would be Jayavarman VII himself. For in the Ta Prohm inscription only Jayavarman VI, the grand-uncle of Suryavarman II, is mentioned.

With Dharanindravarman II, the father of Jayavarman VII, we come back again to terra firma. The genealogy of the Ta Prohm inscription traces his descent from the sister of Jayavarman VI. This prince marries the daughter of Harshavarman IV who has the rather masculine name of Śrī Jayarājāudāmaṇi. Dharanindravarman II is described here as a devout Buddhist. "Having obtained satisfaction in the nectar-like teachings of the moon of the Śākya race (Buddha), having devoted his life to the service of Bhikkhus, Brahmins and others who asked for his help, desiring to extract ~~the essence~~ (of life) with the aid of this impure and unsubstantial body, he adored ceaselessly the feet of the Jina¹.

His reign however witnessed a calamity unprecedented in the history of Kambuja. Matouanlin, the famous Chinese historian and encyclopedist, writes in his notice of Chen-Ching (Champa)¹¹:- "In 1171 A.D. there was a (Chinese) Mandarin whose ship was driven by a storm to Chen-Ching

1) Stanza 17 (Ta Prohm inscr.), B.E.F.E.O., t. vi, p. 52.

11) Wen Hien tong kao translated by Marquis Hervey de Saint Denys.

This kingdom was then at war with Chenla (Kambuja). On both sides elephants were used in the fighting. The Mandarin advised the king of Chen-Ching to have horsemen with bows and ~~axons~~ cross-bows trained to shoot volleys of arrows while charging the enemy. The success of this scheme was immediate.

The Champa fleet, guided by a shipwrecked Chinese, according to the Chinese historian, reached the mouth of the great river (Mekong), sailed up to the Khmer capital which it took by surprise and sacked and then retired with an immense booty¹. A damaged Champa inscription refers to the victorious campaign of Jaya Indravarman IV¹¹. Dharanindravarman II left to his son and successor Jayavarman VII the task of exacting vengeance.

During this reign there existed friendly relations between Kambuja and distant Ceylon. In the Mahāvamśa¹¹¹ we find that "the king of Rāmānya, arrested and imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys pretending that they were sent to Kambuja" and also seized a princess of the royal blood whom the lord of Lankā (King Parākrama Bāhu of Ceylon who reigned from 1164 to 1197 A.D.) had sent to the country of Kambuja". The Ceylonese ruler punished the Burmese king Arimaddhana for his insult by a successful raid on the port Kusumi in Rāmānya^a. And it may have been for this very reason that Jayavarman VII as mentioned in the Chinese chronicles, conquered Pegu towards the end of the 12th century. Probably the Ceylonese princess was sent as a bride for him when he was the crown princess.

1) Song Che.

11) Bergaigne, L'ancien Royaume du Cambodge, p. 87.

111) Transl. by Wijesinha, Ch., 76, pp. 229, 230 (Ed., 1889).

Jayavarman VII succeeded his father in 1104 (1162 A.D.). Though he ascended the throne shortly after the disastrous defeat suffered by Kambuja at the hands of Champa, yet by his warlike prowess he succeeded in winning a position for his country which perhaps even Funan had not attained in her palmiest days.

The Ta Prohm inscriptionⁱⁱ traces the descent of Jayavarman's mother Sri Jayerājacudamani from Grutavarman the first Kambuja king and Bhavavarman who conquered Funan. After that the king's father Dharenēndravarmā is mentioned and his kingship with Jayavarman VI and Suryavarman II is described. The invocation is Buddhist and quite orthodox

in tone. The Buddha, who is the refuge for all ^X meaning of the created world can be attained, is honoured; after that the Sangha, which though free from all attachment (attachment being an obstacle to salvation), is always attached to the task of seeking the welfare of others, is mentioned; and finally Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara), the living incarnation of the celestial tree, the fruits of which satisfy all the desires of the three worlds, is invoked. Stanzas 19 to 28 give the praśast (eulogy) of the king of which only the last (28) contains historical information. Here we are told :- "The other kings, having heard of his glorious career that he (Jayavarman) had gone to Champa and had captured in battle the king of that country and had ^{then} released him, accepted with folded hands (the like clemency) . . . " We know from Champa inscriptions and from Chinese

This date is given in the inscription of the Hospital of Ruk Roka (Finot, Notes d'Epigraphie, t. xviii, p. 322.)
ii) B.E.F.E.O., t. vi, p. 44

sources that Jayavarman VII reduced Champa to submission and made it a dependency of Kampuja for about thirty years. The inscription goes on to enumerate the favours conferred by the king on his guru and the guru's family whom he raised to a royal status. "To their descendants the title of Senapati was given as if they had been the descendants of kings"¹ In stanza 35 Jayavarman VII is stated to have founded the town of Rājavihāra and to have dedicated it to the maintenance of the mother of the lord of the Jinas. Then we are told that he erected a statue of his mother adorned with gems and that this was the image of the mother of Jina (i.e. Prajñāpāramitā). So the king's mother was identified with Prajñāpāramitā -- the mother of the Buddhas. He also erected the statue of his guru surrounded by 260 divine images. Then follows a list (in stanzas 38-44) of the daily offerings ^{to} these images consisting of rice, sesame, munga (a kind of lentil -- "mung" in Hindi), kanku (millet), ghi, dahi (curds), milk, honey, molasses (guḍa), oil of sesame, oil of taruphala (taraminga in bengali), clothing and Chinese silk for mosquito curtains for the images of the deities. In stanza 45 is given the amount of rice for the consumption of those who lived with the professor and lecturer (in the temple precincts). In the next stanza is given the amounts of provisions for the 18 festivals held every year and for the 8th, 14th and 15th day of the two fortnights (the uposatha). In the stanzas 53-58 are given the contributions (of provisions) to be demanded from the villages and in the

1) Stanza 53.

following three stanzas the supplies of cloth, wax, lead, etc., to be taken from the weavers, markets, etc. In the stanzas 62-80 are enumerated the donations of the king himself and the landlords which consist of 3140 villages. ¹ "There are here 12,640 persons in all who have the right to live (in the precincts of the temple). 66,625 men and women serve the gods. The total comes up to 79,365 persons including the Burmese and the Champa (prisoners)". This confirms the statement made by several Chinese chroniclers that about 1295 Pukan (Pagan) ¹¹ ~~was~~ annexed by Jayavarman VII to his kingdom which already included Champa.

In stanzas 68-75 are mentioned the presents of enormous quantities of gold (used for decorating the buildings and for sacred utensils) and silver, 35 diamonds and 40,620 pearls, 4840 other ~~xxxx~~ precious stones such as ~~xxx~~ cat's eyes, ~~goms~~ ⁷ red and other colours, a big cauldron of gold, a small quantity of chalk and a huge quantity of lead. Then follows an account of buildings of which 566 were stone structures.

In stanza 82 it is said that 970 persons (students) live with the lecturer.

Stanzas 83 to 89 describe the spring-time festival, from the 8th of Caitra to the full-moon of that ~~xxx~~ month, celebrated every year according to the Buddhist traditions. Two sacrifices (yūgas) were to be performed at that time. One ~~ax~~ on the 14th of the waxing moon Bhagavan

1) stanza 65-67.

11) Probably it means Pegu here as Pegu was a dependency of Pagan at this period and also touched the western frontier of Kambuja.

should thrice make the pradakṣina with Bhagavati and on the full-moon night together with the gods Vira, Çakti and others. Dancers and dancing girls should dance on all sides and men should practise the good qualities (pāramita enjoined by Buddhism) such as chastity and good conduct. Offerings should be made to the three gurus, to the thousand devatās and to the 619 divinities that are here. 1000 learned persons such as Bhiksus and Brahmins should be entertained. Then follows a list of the articles to be taken from the royal magazines for this purpose. It includes such heterogeneous things as rings, gold, balnkets, ivory stools, perfume boxes, pine resin, wax, rice, curds and other provisions, Chinese beds of grass, mosquito curtains, scents known as taruṣka (or turuṣka), nakha, etc.

In the 117th stanza we find : "There are 102 hospitals (ārogyaśālā) in the different provinces, and 798 shrines are established there (i.e. in the kingdom). For the use of the invalids and for those dwelling in these shrines 117,200 ¹knārikās of rice are to be given annually.

We get some other interesting statistics; e.g. the villages contributing to the upkeep of the hospitals and shrines number 838. The men and women in service there number 81,640. Then in the stanzas 120-140 are enumerated the articles to be taken every year from the royal magazines (for the use of the invalids and for those dwelling

1) 1 Knārikā : 128 sers.

in the shrines). These include besides provisions, wax, honey, long pepper (pippali), a lowan, nutmegs, acids (kṣāra), two kinds of camphor, dandana (a fish?), catapugga (aniseed), cardamoms, coriander, cloves, deodar, a paste of ^{the} roots, dried ginger, assafoetida, 1960 little boxes of medicine for piles, garlic, etc.

Finally the king expresses the wish : "By these good actions of mine may my mother, delivered from the ocean of (future) existences, attain the state of Buddha".

In the last (145) stanza it is stated that Śrī Suryakumara, the son of the king Śrī Jayavarman, had made this prajasti in honour of the Great Goddess (Prajñāpāramitā with whom the mother of Jayavarman was supposed to be identified^a).

An inscription recently discovered at Phimeanakas¹ gives us interesting details about the queens of Jayavarman VII. His first queen, Jayarājadevi, was the daughter of a Brahman. She had been educated by her elder sister Indradevi who was a fervent Buddhist and a very learned lady who taught the scriptures in three convents. The king appreciated her talents and on the death of her sister made her his principal queen. It was she who composed this Sanscrit inscription of Phimeanakas.

About 10 of the hospital inscriptions of Jayavarman VII have been discovered. The same text¹¹, with a few variations, have been used in all these. The invocation is addressed to Buddha in the three aspects of nirmāṇa, dharmā and

1) Inscriptions d'Angkor par L. Finot, B.E.F.E.O., t. xxv, n° 3-4, p. 372.

11) Inscription of Say-Pong (Finot, notes d'Epigraphie, p. 18, B.E.F.E.O., t. iii, n° I.)

sambhoga kâyas, who is beyond existence and non-existence and who is impersonal. Then follows an invocation to Buddha Khasa Bhaisajyaguru (the Master Physician) and two Bodhisattvas Suryavairocana-candaroçi and Candravairocana-rohiniga who dispel the darkness of sickness. These two are well known as patron saints of the art of healing in China, Tibet and Japan. After that is the eulogy of Jayavarman VII. In the 13th stanza (Say-fong inscr.) it is stated : "The bodily pain of men became in him (King Jayavarman) a pain of the soul and was the more painful to him than to the actual invalids for it is the suffering of the state which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own pain". In the next (14) stanza we have : "With the help of the physicians, the warriors versed in the science of the arts of medicine, he (the king) destroyed the enemies of the kingdom -- the maladies". We learn from the next stanzas that the hospital was built round a temple of Buddha Bhaisajya (the Physician) and that it was open to all the four castes. The employees were of two classes : (1) those who had their lodgings in the hospital buildings (sthitidâyi-nah) and (2) those who lived outside (sthitidân). The personnel of the first class consisted of the following : two doctors, three servants for the doctors, two store-keepers, two cooks, two sacrificers, fourteen nurses, eight women two of whom pounded rice. Of the second class there were 66. Then follows a list of the articles, mostly medicines, to be given from the royal magazines to each patient. Finally the inhabitants of the locality (near the hospital) were granted some privileges. They were exempted from paying taxes and from the

corvée. They were to be punished only in case of cruelty to living creatures.

There is a bilingual inscription in Sanscrit and Khmer found at Phimanakes which on account of its square letters should also be attributed to this reign. It is addressed to a sacred acvattas tree and is a curious combination of Buddhism and Brahmanism :- "On sacred mahâbodhi (the tree under which Buddha attained salvation) whose root is Brahma, whose trunk is Çiva and whose branches are Viçnu. . . May thunder never strike thee, may the axe never touch thee"¹.

Champa inscriptionsⁱⁱ tell us that Jayavarman VII conquered the whole country, seized the capital of Champa in 1112 & (1190 A.D.) and placed there a military governor.

Ma-touan-lin in his chapter on Chenlaⁱⁱⁱ says that the king of that realm took an awful revenge for the sack of his capital by Chen-Ching (Champa) by invading that country, dethroning its prince, and putting in his place one of his own subjects. Since then Chen-Ching has remained a feudatory state of Chenla.

Chou-Ju-Kua in his Chu-fan-chi mentions Champa and Pukan (Pagan) definitely^{among the 12 dependencies of Chenla (Kambuja)}. Aymonier quotes other Chinese historians as stating that towards the end of the 12th century Pukan (Pagan) was annexed to Chenla^{iv}. Probably by Pukan is

1) M. Coedes, *Études Cambodgiennes*, B.E.F.E.O., t. xviii n° 9, p. II.

ii) Inscr. of Po Nagar, 402 409 B.4.

iii) *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, par Ma-touan-lin, traduit par M. D'Hervy de Saint Denys.

iv) ~~For in the reign of Jayavarman II it already included~~
~~Grâhi near the Bay of Bandon.~~

Aymonier, Le Cambodge, T. III, p. 528

meant here Pegu which was a dependency of Pagan. pegu being so near the western frontier of Kambuja (which included Siam) would be easier to be overrun than Pagan. Two other states Chenli and Teng-lieou-ma (in the Malay Peninsula) were also annexed to Kambuja. Thus under Jayavarman VII, the Kambuja frontiers extended on the east to the China Sea, and on the west to the Bay of Bengal and on the south far down into the Malay Peninsula. This very expansion must have been a heavy strain on the resources of the state and probably was one of the causes of the rapid decline and fall of the Khmer kingdom which we now have to witness.

Jayavarman VII died about 1122 ç (1201 A.D.) and had the Buddhist posthumous name of Mahâ-paramasaugata.

The inscription of the temple of Mangalârtha, which was discovered only in 1924 (and which has been edited by M. Finot in 1926, B.E.F.E.O., t.xxv, n° 3-4, p.393), gives us the information which was lacking up to this time on the successors of Jayavarman VII. We learn from it that a learned Brahman of the name of Hṛṣikeṣa of the Bharadvâj gotra, who lived in a country called Narapati-deṣa (Burma?—where at this time was reigning Narapatisithu), hearing that a knowledge of the Vedas (which he had thoroughly mastered) was highly esteemed in Kambuja, came to that kingdom. He was made a royal purohita by Jayavarman VII with the title of çri Jaya-Mahâpradhâna. On the death of Indravarman II, the son and successor of Jayavarman VII, this Brahmana went on a pilgrimage to the çiva temple of Bhimapura to pray for the çânti (peaceful repose) of the

1) For in the reign of Suryavarman II it already included Epāhi near the Bay of Bandon.

soul of the deceased king. There (at Bhinapura) he married a young maiden, belonging to a Śaiva family, whose name was Āṭiprabhā. His second daughter by Āṭiprabhā became the queen of Jayavarman VIII and assumed the title of Cakravartī-rājadevī. Subhadrā, the younger sister of Āṭiprabhā, married the "prince of professors" (adhyāpakādhipa) Maṅgalārtha. Their son Mahanātha was a learned grammarian and was also a "prince of professors" during the reign of Indrajayavarman. The king Jayavarman VIII erected his statue together with another of his mother Subhadrā in the capital. Later on he dedicated a temple in their honour. This temple received further donations from the two successors of Jayavarman VIII, Śrī Indravarman and Śrī Indra-jayavarman.

Thus we learn from this inscription that after Jayavarman VII ruled Indravarman II (1201-1243 A.D.). After him came Jayavarman VIII (posthumous name Parameśvara) who ruled from 1243 to 1295 A.D. Jayavarman VIII was succeeded by Śrī Indravarman -- the contemporary of Chou Ka Touan.

Meanwhile the decline of Kambuja had begun. Chinese authors tell us that about 1220 A.D. Champa had to be evacuated. The Siamese also threw off the yoke of Kambuja and according to one of their early inscriptions were busy effacing all traces of Brahmanism in their country.

Yet up to the end of the 13th century Kambuja was known to the Chinese as a land of fabulous wealth. It did not send tribute to the Imperial Court ^{when} and in the latter half of the 13th century the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan was aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole Eastern

could not enter the city gates. In the centre of the capital he describes a golden tower flanked by more than a score of towers of stone. This evidently was the Bayon. To the north of it at a distance of one li ($\frac{1}{3}$ th of a mile) was a tower of copper higher than the golden tower. This is to be identified with the Bapuon. Another li to the north was the palace where there was another tower of gold (Phimanakas). To the east there was a golden bridge with two golden lions on each side and eight Golden Buddhas in altars of stone. Then he says that these monuments were the source of the stories of wealth and magnificence of Kambuja which merchants circulated in China.

It is very curious that he calls Angkor Vat a tomb which was supposed to have been erected in one night by Lou Pan (the Chinese god of architects). Lou Pan here stands for Visvakarma -- the Hindu Vulcan. We have seen the posthumous name Vignuloka of a king in the Angkor Vat inscriptions. Were his ashes also buried there? In Java such funereal temples are common.

In the eastern lake (vāṣoḍhara-tatāka) he mentions a bronze recumbent figure of the Buddha from whose navel gushed out a constant flow of water. In the northern lake he described a square townⁿ of gold, a golden Buddha, a golden lion and a bronze elephant, horse and bull.

The palace was to the north of the golden tower and of the golden bridge. The tiles of the private apartments were of lead. The piers of the bridge were enormous and there were images of Buddha sculptured on them. The buildings were magnificent but the long verandahs and the

covered corridors were not symmetrical. The window ^{frames} ~~panes~~ of the council chamber were golden. To the right and left were square columns on which there were about 50 mirrors. The interior of the palace was said to be more wonderful but no one could enter there. Then Cheou Ta Kouan tells the story how the Nāgi ancestress appeared every night in the guise of a fair lady in the golden tower inside the palace.

The official rank of each determined the size and structure of his house. The common people did not ^{use} ~~use~~ tiles for their roofs which were thatched.

"Every one has his or her hair tied up in a knot. . . They have only a loin cloth but when they go out they use a scarf. . . The best cloth of the finest texture come across the western seas". (Kamusio writes in the middle of the 16th century that there was a great demand in Kambuja for Bengal muslin).

"The king wears a necklace of big pearls and jewelled bracelets and anklets. . He ~~gimx~~ goes barefeet and the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands are dyed red. . . Among the people only the women can dye their feet and hands".

"In the higher posts generally princes are employed. . . The highest officials use palanquins with a golden pole and four umbrellas with golden handles..."

Then the three religions are mentioned :- "The learned are called Panhi (Pandit); their monks ^{are} ~~their~~ called Chou-kou (which is still the name for Siamese Hinayana monks) and the Taoists are called Pa-ssou-wei (Pācupatas)

The distinctive mark of the Panki is a white thread round their necks -- which is never discarded (the upavita). . The Pankis who enter into service reach the highest offices

"The Chou-kou shave their heads, wear yellow garments and keep the right shoulders uncovered and go barefeet. They eat fish and meat but do not drink wine. They also offer fish and meat to Buddha. The texts which they recite are very numerous and consist of palm leaves. Some of these monks have palanquins with a golden pole and a gold-handled umbrella and the king consults them about serious affairs. there are no Buddhist nuns". It is remarkable that at the end of the 13th century Buddhist monks were known in Kambuja by a Siamese name. This shows that Hinayana Buddhism was in the ascendance at this time and that it came from Siam.

"The Pa-sseu-wei (pâcupata?) tie up their hair with a red or white cloth. Their temples are smaller than the Buddhist shrines; for Taoism (Hinduism) is not so prosperous as Buddhism. The Pa-sseu-wei worship only a block of stone (the linga). There are Taoist nuns. The Taoists do not take their food from other people nor do they eat in public."

"The children of the laity who go to school come to the monks who instruct them. They return to the lay life when they are older".

"The inhabitants are fat and are very dark. . We must go to the palace people or to the ladies of noble families to find a white complexion like that of jade. Generally women as well as men keep the upper part of the

of the body uncovered, dress up their hair in a knot and go barefeet. . . Even the queens go like this. The king has five queens and numerous concubines. . . The king comes out with his principal queen and sits at the golden window of his private apartment. The people of the palace stand in rows and under the window on both sides of the verandah and see the monarch one after another..."

"Usually deer-skin of a black colour is used for writing. . . With sticks made of a white powder they write on the parchment. . ."

". . . Their first month "kia-to" (kârtika : Kumar kâdâk) corresponds to the tenth month of the Chinese. . ." In front of the palace on New Year's evening there was a display of fireworks. The king with the foreign ambassadors came to see it. . . In the 5th month the images of Buddha are brought from all parts of the kingdom and they are bathed in the presence of the sovereign. . . In the seventh month after the rice harvest they burnt rice in honour of Buddha. . . In the eighth month there was music and dancing and boar and elephant fights. . . In the ninth month there was the "ya-lie" which was celebrated by the people passing in a procession before the palace.

"In this country there were people who understood astronomy and could calculate the eclipses of the sun and the moon". . . certain days of the week were considered auspicious. On certain days one could travel towards the east and on other days towards the west. Even the women could make these calculations. Then Cheou Ta Kouan describes the system of a cycle of twelve years, each year being designated by the

(a Chinese practice)

(a Chinese practice)

name of an animal. But the names of these animals were different from the Chinese names. At present however they are exactly identical with the Chinese names of the animals.

"Even the petty cases of the people came for hearing before the sovereign. ." In very grave cases the criminal was buried alive in a ditch. . . A person suspected of theft had to plunge his hands into boiling oil and it would suffer no injury if he was innocent. . . There were a dozen small towers before the palace. The two adversaries in a law-suit which was difficult to decide would sit each on a tower. He whose case was unjust, would after the first, second or third day show symptoms of some malady while the other would not suffer in the least. .

"The people frequently get ill which is due to too frequent baths they take". Cheou Ta Kouan even ascribes leprosy to too frequent baths. He mentions a leper king.

"In this country three to four harvests are gathered in one year. . . Animal manure is not used to fertilise the soil, it is despised as impure. . ."

"The most precious products are the plumes of the king-fisher, ivory, the horn of the rhinoceros and wax. . The more common are cardamoms, gamboge (the resin of a tree), the oil of Lucraban seeds, etc."

"In this country the women carry on trade. . Gold and Chinese silver are most highly prized and next in order of importance are imports from China such as ^{silk} stuffs, tin, porcelain, vermillion, paper, saltpetre, etc. Wheat is in great demand but export of wheat is prohibited in China. . ."

"Every village has its temple or stupa. However few ^{may} be

be the number of inhabitants they have a police officer called mai-tse (the Khmer name of the village headman is me sok). On the highways they have rest-houses. . . In the recent war with the Siamese the country has been devastated."

Finally Cheou Ta Kouan mentions that the new king (of Kambuja) was the son-in-law of the late king. The latter loved ^{from the thorns and brambles which had grown up...} being succeeded on having been delivered by a young king during the reign of an old king. It is expressly stated that the old king ceded his throne to his son-in-law Grindravarman.

Grindravarman was succeeded in 1307 A.D. by Grindravarman¹¹. The inscription of Angkor vat, which is badly damaged

reign that a shrine, one of the most finished examples of Khmer art, viz. the shrine of Tribhuvana Mahesvara at Içvarapura. Kambuja architecture and sculpture were still flourishing at the beginning of the 14th century. Nevertheless the kingdom was already in great dangers of Siamese invasions¹. It is interesting that the inscription of Bantei Srei confirms the statement of Cheou Ta Kouan in a passage where the Earth is congratulated on having been delivered by a young king during the reign of an old king. It is expressly stated that the old king ceded his throne to his son-in-law Grindravarman.

Grindravarman was succeeded in 1307 A.D. by Grindravarman¹¹. The inscription of Angkor vat, which is badly damaged and bears no date, throws a dubious light on the last rulers of Kambuja. It is the last of our Sanskrit inscriptions and probably

- 1) M. Finot, Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China in the "Indian Historical Quarterly", December, 1925.
- 11) Inscriptions d'Angkor, B.E.F.E.O., t. xxv, p. 393.

belongs to the middle of the 14th century A.D.¹ The script shows distinct deterioration but the language is fairly correct though not so polished as the inscriptions of Yaçovarman. It is fervently Çaiva in tone. It commemorates a donation by Jayavarmaperameçvara (who probably succeeded Çrindrajayavarman about the middle of the 14th century A.D.) to an āgrama founded by his notar Vidyegādhi^hmat, the priest of Bhadreçvara, ^{old that} came from Aryadega (North India). Another predecessor of this ^{brāhmaṇi, one} priest Vidy^eçavid, ^{predecessors of} was the notar of Jayavarman VIII¹¹ and performed the abhiṣeka ceremony of his successor Çrindravarman. On the death of Vidy^eçavid another Brāhmaṇ, whose name has disappeared, became the notar of the king (Çrindravarman) and erected a statue of the Ganges on the banks of the Yaçodhara lake¹¹¹.

quite recently has been discovered at Angkor Vat a few lines in incorrect Sanscrit on a pillar on which are sculptured images of the Buddha. Its interest lies in the fact that it shows that at this period (which from the incorrect Sanscrit and the uncouth appearance of the sculptures must be late 14th century or early 15th century A.D.), [†] The cult of Avalokiteçvara (and therefore Mahayana Buddhism) still survived the ~~the~~ triumphant progress of Hinayana Buddhism which came in from Siam. For on this pillar occurs the name of Aryâvalokeçvara which is a corrupt form of Arya Avalokiteçvara. There is also a mention of Aryadevi (Prajñâ-pāramitā)

1) I.S.C.C., p.560.

11) See B.E.F.E.O., t.xxv, p.394.

111) I.S.C.C., p.572 (stanza 49) and p.574 (stanzas 62, 63, 66).

and her image too can be traced on the pillar¹.

Probably during the 15th century the Khmer kings, unable to resist the Siamese advance, left Angkor and withdrew further into the interior. On the south-east an even more terrible enemy, the Annamites who had overthrown Champa, were working havoc in the realm of Kambuja. The age of inscriptions, the most glorious period of Khmer history, now comes to a close. The age of chronicles, which shows the once mighty kingdom of Kambuja a prey to the merciless inroads of Annamite^s on the one hand and the Siamese on the other, is a dry and depressing account of pompous titles of princes, ^{and} internal ^{sens} discussions which were exploited by the foreign enemies. These chronicles are comparatively modern being re-written from Siamese sources at the end of the 18th century -- the old histories having been destroyed in the perpetual wars which afflicted the country.

CONCLUSION.

We have seen in the preceding pages how effectively Kambuja was 'Hinduised'. The Kings, nobles and priests had Sanskrit names. The pandits of the royal court wrote the inscriptions - some of which are quite long compositions - in elegant Sanskrit. Princes were educated by their gurus in the Siddhântas (mathematics and astronomy), the Sanskrit grammar (especially the works of Pânini and Patanjali), the Dharma-çâstras, the different systems of philosophy, etc. Çâstrotsavas (literary assemblies) were held in which sometimes Brahman ladies also joined and won admiration by their learned discussions. Vedic sacrifices like the Mahâ-homa, Lakṣa-homa, Hoti-homa, etc., were performed by the monarchs. The Vedas (especially the Atharva-veda) and the Vedâṅgas were carefully studied. The invocations to Çiva in the earliest inscriptions show knowledge of the Vedanta. Daily recitations without interruption of the Râmâyana, Mahabhârata and the Purânas are referred to in a sixth century inscription (I.S.C.C. p.80). Kings appointed acâryas in âcramas and other holy places to teach grammar. Emphasis is laid on the teaching of the Sanskrit grammar in Kambuja epigraphy. And it must have been well taught if we can judge from the faultless language of the inscriptions. We hear of libraries well-stocked with many different kinds of books on all the Çâstras and schools full of presents offered at the end of their studies by pupils. Yaçovarman's digraphic inscriptions show intimate knowledge of the Mahabhârata, Harivamca and the works of Guṇâdhya, King Pravarasena, Vâtayâyana, Mayura, etc. Obscure names in Sanskrit literature like Çura, Bhimaka, and Viçâlākṣa are also cited there. What is more curious is that legends and traditions which had grown up round the names of famous authors in India had found their way into Indo-China in the ninth century. Thus Patanjali the

grammarian was regarded in Kambuja as in India as an incarnation of the Āṣa-nāga. There is an allusion to the story of the withdrawal from the royal court of Guṇādhyā, the author of the Bṛhat-Kathā, and his restoration to royal favour in one of Yaśovarman's inscription. We have seen quotations from Pāṇini and Manu in Kambuja epigraphy. One of our earliest inscriptions (that of Hanchey) shows a close imitation of Kālidāsa's description of Raghu's conquests in his Raghuvaṃśa. Sūcruta, the writer on medicine, was also known. Various Sanscrit metres were successfully used by the Court poets of Khmer. All this shows intimate cultural relations between Kambuja and India.

On the social side too we can see the impress of Indian influence. Suryavarman I is stated to have "established the division of castes" and to have placed the Brahman Civācārya at the head of his caste. Harṣavarman III boasts of having made people observe strictly the duties of the four castes. The Brahmans especially seem to have been well organised from at least the fifth century A.D. They were apparently reinforced by immigrants coming from India continuously during ~~our~~ ^{our} period. Chinese annals mention two Kaundinyas as the pioneers of Indian cultural and political influence. In the eighth century, Agastya, coming from India, marries the princess Yaśomati. In the tenth century, Indralakṣmī, daughter of King Rājendravarman, is given in marriage to the Brahman Divākara, who was born on the banks of the Jumna "where Kṛṣṇa played in his infancy." Towards the end of the twelfth century the learned Hṛṣikeṣa, of the Bharadvāj gotra, hearing that a knowledge of the Vedas was held in high esteem in Kambuja, comes to the court of Jayavarman VII. Finally the inscription of Angkor Vat, the last of our Sanscrit inscriptions and probably belonging to the middle of the fourteenth century,

tells us of Sarvajnamuni, a priest of Bhadreçvara, who came from Aryadeça (North India?) under the Singasari and the Rajap. We do not get much substantial evidence of the other castes however. Sometimes we come across references to a royal princess marrying a Kṣatriya. We hear much, of course, of the solar dynasty (founded by the Rṣi Kambu and Merâ) and the lunar dynasty (which has been traced from Kaundinya and Somâ). In these cases too the founders of the two dynasties were Brahman, though the later rulers assume the Kṣatriya title of 'varman'. In India too there are cases of a dynasty, Brahman in its origin, being recognised later on as Kṣatriya. It is curious that the tradition of to-day sees in the Bâkus, who are the descendants of the ancient Brahman, the future sovereigns of the country in case the present royal family of Cambodia becomes extinct¹. Images of Uṣa, Lakṣmī, Sarasv. Caste regulations, however, were much more elastic in Kambuja than in India. Not only did Brahman wed Kṣatriya princesses (which was after all a valid practice, though not usual in India) but the Kings married sometimes Brahman maidens - something quite unorthodox according to the Castras. Jayavarman II had a Brahman wife of the name of Prâna. Both the queens of Jayavarman VII belonged to the Brahman caste. Barth As regards the influence of Indian religions on Kambuja, Chinese annals tell us of the prevalence of the cult of Maheçvara (Çiva) in the country in the fifth century A.D. During the whole period covered by our inscriptions the cult of Çiva held its ground as the State religion. Only from the ninth century Mahâyâna Buddhism gradually came into prominence, and during the reigns of some Kings at least, e.g. Suryavarman I and Jayavarman VII, shared the royal favour with Çivâism. This

1) Aymonier, Histoire de l'Ancien Cambodge, 1920. p. 178.

strange combination of Mahâyâna doctrines with the worship of Çiva has its parallel in Java under the Singasâri and the Majapâhit dynasties and in Maḡadha and Bengal under the Pâla dynasty. This syncretism of Çivaism and Buddhism was to be found about the same period in all these countries. We shall shortly revert to this topic.

Other Indian cults were not unknown in Kambuja. The worship of Hari-Hara (Viṣṇu and Çiva combined as one) was very popular in Kambuja in the sixth and seventh centuries. Some of the oldest and finest Khmer sculptures represent this combination. In one case these two deities were combined in a linga emblem which is unusual in India. Viṣṇu was worshipped separately too. Suryavarman II was a Vaiṣṇava and the great temple of Angkor Vat, which was built during his reign, is very probably a shrine of Viṣṇu. Images of Umâ, Lakṣmi, Sarasvatî and of Gangâ (the Ganges) are also mentioned in the inscriptions. A shrine was raised to Kṛṣṇa in a place called Madhuvana by the Brahman Divakara who came from the banks of the Jumna. At least once, an image of Brahma is referred to. In the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman, we hear of shrines consecrated to Ganeṣa, Nidrâ, Kârttikeya, Nârâyana, Brahmarakṣas, Rudrâni, etc.¹ The goddess Nidrâ (Sleep) is identified by Barth with Yoganidrâ or Mahâmâyâ (a form of Durgâ). The mention of a shrine of Brahmarakṣas is peculiarly interesting. He is not a god at all but a malignant spirit. When a wicked Brahman commits suicide or meets with a violent death, according to popular tradition, his troubled soul assumes the form of a Brahmarâkṣasa. No shrine dedicated to such an evil spirit has been heard of in India, but the Brahma-râkṣasa plays an important role in numerous folk-tales of Bengal. Aymonier

1) I.S.C.C., pp. 376, 382, 385, 387, 388 and 390.

11) Journal Asiatique, t.xv (1882), p.146.

states that the defiles of the hills of Bantea Meas, where this shrine is situated, are supposed to be haunted up to this time and still strike terror into the hearts of the superstitious.

An original aspect of Kambuja religion is the deification of Kings, queens, learned priests and other persons of distinction and their identification with Çiva (in the case of men) and Durgâ (in the case of women). These divinities were represented by images reproducing the features of the persons thus honoured and were also named after these individuals - the only distinction being the addition of the titles Içvara and Devi to the personal names, to show the identification with the deity. Thus King Yaçovarman erects two images of Çiva, which bore the names of Indravarmeqvara and Mahapatiçvara - the names of the King's father Indravarman and of his grandfather Mahâpativarman who are here worshipped as Çiva. Two images of Durgâ were also consecrated at the same place, which were named Indra-devi and Râjendra-devi - the names of the King's mother and grandmother. Ancestor worship and the worship of Çiva and his spouse were thus combined.

These images were statues of the persons thus deified. An image of Bhagavati at Baset is stated in the accompanying inscription to be the effigy of a lady¹.

Identifications of distinguished men and women with Viçnu and the Buddhist goddess Prajñâ-pâramitâ are also referred to. In short, from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century, allusions to this practice of apotheosis of persons held in high esteem are quite common in our inscriptions.

Moreover, similar deification of living people too was not unknown. Thus Punnâgavarman consecrates an image of Çiva "which is made after his own likeness"¹¹. King Udayâdityavarman

1) Coedes, 'Sur l'apothéose au Cambodge', p. 42.

11) Journal Asiatique, t.xx (1862), p.145.

II consecrates the linga Jayendravarmanecvara when his guru Jayendravarman, in whose honour the emblem was so named, was still alive¹. The victorious General Sangrama offers to the king the spoils of war requesting him to present them "to your subtle ego who is Içvara dwelling in a golden linga."

Then again we have posthumous titles of the Kings indicating that they had gone to the heaven of their favourite deities such as Çivaloka, Viṣṇuloka, Nirvāṇapada, etc.

Finally we have the cult of the Kamraten Jagat ta rājya (the god who is the kingdom) or the deva-raja (the Royal God). This deity (which was a Çiva-linga) contained the royal essence present in the living King of Kambuja and in all her Kings.

In Java we have the magnificent statue of King Erlangga deified as Viṣṇu and seated on Garuḍa. The statue of Kertarajasa, the first King of Majapahit, also displays all the divine symbols of Viṣṇu, namely the conch, the disc, the club and the lotus. King Kartanagara, the last of the Singasari dynasty, had his statue set up in a cremation ground in the shape of the Jina Aksobhya. In the Nagar-Kṛtagama Hyam Wuruk, the greatest of the Javanese kings, is represented as identical in essence with Çiva-Buddha.

We have already noticed that something like the cult of the Royal God with its mystic connection between the ruling dynasty and the divinity was to be found in Central Java (Dinaya inscr. of 760 A.D.) and Champa (inscr. of Don^g-duong) associated in each case with an important role given to a Brahman family. Dr. Bosch in his article in the Tijdschrift Bat. Gen. (Ded LXIV, 1924) supposes a common origin for all this in Kunjara-Kunja in South India.

In India too the custom of describing the god of a temple

1) Inscr. of Sdok Kak Thom, B.E.F.E.O., t.xv, p. 86.

by the name of the founder was well-known. "At Pattadakl (which region offers so many points of resemblance to Kambuja)" says Sir Charles Eliot, "King Vijayāditya founded a temple of Vijayecvara and two queens Lokamahādevi and Trailokyamahādevi founded temples of Lokeçvara and Trailokeçvara."¹

An inscription from Kurgod in the Bellary district (Madras Presidency), dated 1181 A.D., states that in the course of his pious reign, Rācamalla (the Sinda ruler of Kurgod) was favoured with an epiphany of Çiva and his attendant spirits. After death Rācamalla was translated to Sālokya in Çiva's heaven, subsequently appearing on earth as a manifestation of Çiva in the form of a svayambhuva (self-created) linga in Kurgod where a sanctuary was raised and worship paid to him under the name of Udbhava-Rācamalleçvara (the God Içvara of Rācamalla in (miraculous) revelation)¹¹. The ancestor of the Sinda princes was supposed to have sprung from the union of a Naga King with the radiance (personified) of Çiva's sword.

Among the Bengalis up to this time when speaking of a departed relation, we say Içvara so-and-so. The idea is that after death the person has become merged in God-head.

The passage in the Pratima nātaka (attributed to Bhasa), referring to the statue of the deceased King Daçaratha being added to the statues of his predecessors in the pratima (statue) hall, has already been referred to. Some of the shrines of the great temple of the Bayon (of Angkor Thom) must have been like this where the great men of the country were commemorated by statues which received veneration side by side with the images of gods and goddesses.

Possibly there might have been some Chinese influence too

1) Sir Charles Eliot, 'Hinduism and Buddhism', Vol. III, p.116.

11) Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XIV, No. 19, pp. 279-281.

in this Kambuja practice of the apotheosis of ancestors. In the Far East ancestor-worship is the fundamental form of religion, and in China we find fully developed the notion that ancestral spirits could reside in tablets.

As regards the apotheosis of Kings, we must remember that in the *Āstras* (and in the *Bhagavad Gita* too) the King is, as it were, the image of God. Moreover, as Sir Charles Eliot says:¹ "A simpler cause tended to unite Church and the State in all these Hindu colonies. In mediaeval India the Brahmins became so powerful that they could claim to represent religion and civilization apart from the State. But in the Kambuja and Champa, Brahmanic religion and civilization were bound up with the State. Both were attacked by and ultimately succumbed to the same enemies."

Before we pass on to other aspects of life in Kambuja something should be said about the rise and progress of Buddhism in this country. Early in the sixth century two of Buddhist monks Sanghapāla and Mandra went from Funan to China and translated some of the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Their translations are yet to be found in the Chinese tripitaka. They were probably Hinayāna Buddhists. I-tsing, who travelled in these regions towards the end of the seventh century, speaking of Funan says:- "In ancient times.... the people who worshipped many Devas. Then the law of Buddha prospered and expanded. But at the present time a wicked King has completely destroyed it and there are no more monks." From his writings it seems that Hinayāna Buddhism of the Mulasarvāstivāda school flourished in Indo-China and in *Grivijaya* in Sumatra.

It was with the arrival from "Java" of Jayavarman II at

1) *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol.III, p.117.

the beginning of the ninth century, that Mahayāna Buddhism rose into prominence in Kambuja. Probably Java here means the Ḡriviḡaya kingdom, which at this time wielded its sway over considerable portions of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java. The Kalasan inscription in Central Java (779 A.D.) which dedicates a temple to Tara, the splendid Buddhist shrines like Borobudur constructed by the Ḡriviḡaya kings in Java, the Nālandā plate of Devapala (of the latter part of the ninth century) of Bengal granting some villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālandā by Balputradeva of the Ḡailendra dynasty of (the Ḡriviḡaya kingdom of) Sumatra, the Chola inscription of the early eleventh century commemorating the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam, built by the king of the Ḡailendra dynasty of Ḡriviḡaya - all these show the fervent ardour displayed by the rulers of Ḡriviḡaya in the cause of Mahayāna Buddhism. A Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century, which gives miniatures of famous Mahayāna images at important Buddhist centres, contains a miniature which represents Avalokiteṡvara, with the heading "Avalokiteṡvara at Crivajaya-pura in Suvarnapura (Sumatra)". The voyage of the celebrated Bengali monk Atisa to Suvarnavipa (Sumatra) to consult a learned Buddhist monk in that distant island (mentioned in Tibetan and Nepalese works) shows the reputation of Ḡriviḡaya up to the middle of the eleventh century as a stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism.

Now why Jayavarman II of Kambuja was in 'Java' or Ḡriviḡaya at all we do not know. An Arab writer Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) relates the story of a victorious expedition undertaken by the "Maharaja" (of Ḡriviḡaya) to Khmer. Possibly towards the end of the eighth century (which century is a blank in Kambuja history) Ḡriviḡaya claimed some sort of suzerainty over Kambuja and Jayavarman, a prince of the latter country, might have resided for some time at the court of his sovereign.

The important inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, the record of the High Priests of the Royal God, states that on coming back from Java Jayavarman II built three capitals in succession - Hariharālaya, Amarendrapura and Mahendraparvata, and that in his last days the great king went back to his first capital Hariharālaya. Apparently Jayavarman had been infected with the spirit of the great building activity which the Çrivijaya kings were at this time showing in Central Java. Now Amarendrapura, the first of the great monuments of Khmer art, has been successfully identified with Bantay Chmar - a city which recent researches have discovered to be wholly Mahayanist and of which Avalokiteçvara was the presiding deity¹. This is strong evidence for inferring that Mahayāna Buddhism came with Jayavarman II from Çrivijaya.

Hariharālaya, the first and last capital of Jayavarman II, is generally supposed to be in the immediate vicinity of Angkor Thom. The third capital Mahendra-parvata (the present Phnom Koulen) is a few leagues to the N.W. of Angkor, and this hill was the quarry from which were supplied the stones for constructing Angkor Thom. The Brahmanical inscription of Sdok Kak Thom ascribes the founding of Angkor Thom to Yaçoverman - a fervent Çaiva. This famous capital has been up to this time supposed to be pre-eminently Çaiva and the Bayon has been considered, on the authority of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom of the Brahman High Priests, to be the shrine of the Royal God. But quite recent discoveries have shown traces of representations of Lokeçvara on the gates of this city, and a Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara) image has been found in a central place in the temple of the Bayon itself. What makes these recent findings more interesting is the fact that these emblems of Mahayānism at Angkor Thom have been deliberately mutilated or carefully concealed by Çaiva iconoclasts.

1) B.E.F.E.O., T. XXV (1925), nos. 3-4, p. 294.

M. Pinot has been led to the conclusion that Angkor Thom began as a Buddhist city which was placed under the special protection of the Bodhisattva Lokeṣvara and that the Bayon itself was in the beginning a Lokeṣvara shrine, which was afterwards converted into a Śaiva temple¹. Between Angkor Thom and Bantay Chmar (the second capital of Jayavarman II) many vestiges of the Lokeṣvara cult have been found in the intervening country and these have also suffered from iconoclastic zeal.

M. Pinot's conclusion is that Angkor Thom was founded by Jayavarman II - a Mahayana Buddhist. It seems to me that Hariharālaya (the first and last capital of Jayavarman II) was simply the older name of Angkor^{M. Pinot thinks,} Yaçovarman converted it into a Śaiva city and as in the Brahmanical inscription of Adok Kak Thom, he is represented as the founder of this capital, the acts of vandalism committed against Mahayānist images may perhaps be attributed to him. It is also strange that the exceptionally long reign of Jayavarman II should have left no contemporary inscription, especially when this period was considered to be so brilliant in subsequent inscriptions. Probably the inscriptions of this Buddhist sovereign were deliberately destroyed.⁽²⁾

This very inscription of the High Priests of the Royal God suggests some relation between the religion followed at first by Jayavarman II and 'Javā' or Çrivijaya. We have already seen the passage in which Jayavarman asks the Brahman Hiranyadāna, who came from Janapada and who had supernatural powers, to draw up a ritual so that Kambuja-deça might no longer be dependent on 'Javā' and that there might be in the kingdom a Cakravarti sovereign (- i.e., a ruler not owing

1) Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 227-256. p. 38.

(2) In the badly damaged inscription of Prasat-Khnat (see p. 79) one can decipher the names of Lokarātha (Buddha) and Jayavarman II

allegiance to any sovereign). It seems, therefore, that Jayavarman II, at first a fervent Mahayanist, adopted a Tántric form of Çaivism (for we hear of Hiranyadâma, who possessed "siddhi", teaching Tántric texts) to cut off all connection with Çrivijaya. It strengthens our hypothesis that the Mahayana Buddhism, which we find at this period in Kambuja, came from Çrivijaya.

Now the problem rises - from which part of India did Çrivijaya and Kambuja get this Mahayana Buddhism? If the early Çaiva cult in Indo-China and the Malay archipelago seems to have originated from South India - the later wave of Mahayâna Buddhism, it seems to me, is to be traced to Magadha and Bengal. In the seventh century, Buddhism, especially Mahayâna Buddhism, had already dwindled into insignificance in Southern India, which was dominated in this period by Jainism and Çaivism. A few scattered remnants of the Buddhist cult in the South, observed by Hsien Tsang, were mostly of the Hinayâna school. So we should not expect the wave of proseletysing zeal, which made the Çailendra Kings of Çrivijaya propagate the Mahayâna faith in the Malay Peninsula (Inscr. of Vienⁿ Sâ 775 A.D.)ⁱ and in Java (Inscr. of Kalasan 779 A.D.)ⁱⁱ, to have reached the shores of Sumatra from Southern India. Moreover, we can bring more direct evidence to bear upon this point. The inscription of Kalasan in Central Java, which commemorates the construction of a temple of Tara by order of the Maharaja of the Çailendra dynasty, is written in North Indian characters.ⁱⁱⁱ Sir R.G.Bhandarkar wrote in 1889 after seeing a photo of this inscription: "The characters resemble those

i) G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya, p. 38.

ii) G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya, p.38.

iii) Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, A Sanscrit inscription from Central Java, 1889.

of the North Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription (of the middle of the ninth century) found at Ghosravan near the old city of Nalanda in Magadha." At this time, Magadha was part of the dominions of the fervently Mahayānist Pālas of Bengal.

This inscription does not stand alone. Burnell, as we have already seen (p. 101), writes in his South Indian Palaeography (p. 53) that inscriptions in this Nāgari character occur in considerable numbers in Java. "Grants, explanatory remarks, inscriptions on rings and Buddhist confessions of faith have all been found in this character."

In the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman (ninth century A.D.) then North Indian characters appear in Kambuja also. Barth is of the opinion (see p. 103) that this North Indian alphabet arrived in Kambuja only after making a long halt in Java as the Javanese and Kambuja (Nāgari) scripts resemble each other more closely than any of the North Indian scripts. I suggest that this script and Mahayana Buddhism probably came both together with Jayavarman II into Kambuja from Çrivijaya. We must remember that we possess no contemporary inscription of Jayavarman II. I have already quoted Barth's remark (p. 103) that as regards general aspect this new script in Java and Kambuja is more akin to Bengali than to any other Northern alphabet.

Burnell believed that Buddhist emigrants from North India came in large numbers to Java about the eleventh century perhaps on account of religious disputes in India¹. Since then the Kalasan inscription of Central Java (779 A.D.) and the digraphic inscriptions of Yaçovarman (889 A.D.) have been

the representation of a script on it. They will have been this

1) Indian Antiquary, V, p. 316.

(1) Dr. Senart, while mentioning the inscription of Sri Jambura (see p. 44), writes "Jambura is said to be a name of the island of Java (or Sumatra) in the 10th century."

discovered, and we now know that the Kingdom of *Grivijaya* (in *Sumatra*) was an important stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism in the eighth century. Towards the end of the seventh century I-tsing wrote that there were a few Mahayanists in Malayu (in Sumatra and part of the *Grivijaya* kingdom) while the *Mulasarvāstivāda* (akin to Hinayana but apparently not irreconcilable to Mahayana) was the dominant form of Buddhism in *Grivijaya*. Moreover he mentions that the King of *Grivijaya* possessed ships sailing between India and Sumatra, and that it was on a ship belonging to the king that he himself sailed for *Tamralipti* (Tamluk near the mouth of the Hugli). This shows regular commercial intercourse with Bengal.

Again we know from the account of Hsien Tsang that *Caçanka*, King of *Karnasuvarna* (south of Murshidabad), violently persecuted the Buddhists early in the seventh century. It is possible that as a result of this persecution there might have been a large scale emigration of Buddhists to Farther India and the Malay Archipelago.⁽¹⁾ But in spite of this King's attempt to extirpate Buddhism, it held its ground in *Karna-suvarna* itself. For Hsien Tsang, when he visited this region, mentions a "magnificent and famous" Buddhist monastery of the name of '*Rakta-mṛttika*' (Red Earth) "the resort of illustrious Brethren" (Watter's translation, Vol. II, p. 191) and ten other Buddhist shrines in the capital. It is curious that the present name of this locality is *Rangamati* (Bengali for red earth). By the by, the '*Rakta-mṛttika*' referred to in an early Sanskrit inscription in the Malay Peninsula, as the place to which belonged the pious Buddhist sea-trader who was the author of this inscription (which has the representation of a stupa on it), may well have been this Bengal monastery on the bank of the *Bhagirathi* (or Hugli) the

(1) M. Senart, while discussing the inscription of *Sri Santhor* (See p. 143), quotes *Jarmantha* as saying that many Buddhists came to Indo-China from *Madhya-deça* (*Magadha*) in the 8th century.

name of which has still survived. However that may be when Hsien Tsang came to Samatata (the delta of the Ganges) he heard of Gri-Ksetra (Prome), Dvaravati (in Siam), Icana-pura (Kambuja) and Maha-Champa as countries lying toward the east and of Yamandvipa (Yava-dvipa?) to the south-east. He says that these countries beyond Samatata were not visited by him, but he gained information about them at Samatata. People in Samatata (the Gangetic delta) must then have been acquainted with these distant regions. It is noteworthy that Kambuja is mentioned by the name of Icnapura for Icnavarman was reigning there probably at that very time or a few years before. But it was under the Pâlas of Bengal (who rose to power in the latter half of the eighth century) that Mahayânism reached its high-water mark in Bengal and Megadha. But from the beginning of this Pâla period Mahayâna doctrines became tinged with Tânticism. The Pâla dynasty lasted until the Muhammedan conquest of Bihar in 1199 and throughout this long period the Pâla monarchs remained steadfast supporters of Buddhism, though unfortunately Tânticism worked havoc with it, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And Tânticism was also at the same time modifying Gaivism in Bengal. Indeed, as B. E. Sarkar has pointed out in his "Folk-Element in Hindu Literature" (p. 171), Tântic Buddhism (or Tantra-yana) was in this period slowly losing itself in the Tântic Gaiva cult. Lokeçvara and Târâ were becoming mere shadows of Çiva and Durga. "The Gaivas and Tantrists worshipped Mahaçvara (Çiva) and Lokeçvara (the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara) alike" (p. 165). The Brahmans who monopolised the office of prime-minister of the Pâla Kings must have

1) Walters' Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 187. nre, p. 80.

helped to bring about this curious medley ¹. The later Pála kings installed images of Īiva side by side with images of Lokeṣvara. Indeed the form of this Lokeṣvara was like that of Īiva and was adorned in the same manner with snakes as ornaments. A strange scripture, the Ġuṇya Purāṇa, written by one Kamaī Pandit in the eleventh century, combined the doctrine of void of Mahāyānism with Tāntric practices into which the whole of the Hindu pantheon was also introduced. ¹¹ Other teachers taught darker secret teachings, and Buddhism fell ~~into~~ evil days indeed.

But all this is interesting because Mahāyānism and Ġaivism in Sumatra, Java and Kambuja showed during this same period exactly the same characteristics. As M. Finot has pointed out the images of Lokeṣvara at Angkor Thom bore such a strong resemblance to those of Īiva, that the iconoclasts (probably during Yaṣovarman's reign) spared some of them by mistake. After this outbreak of fanaticism, Mahāyānism and Ġaivism became more and more fused together as we have seen in the inscriptions. In one case we have seen the identification became so complete that a Trinity was composed of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha, and this combination was dedicated to Īiva. Buddhist sovereigns like Jayavarman VII had Brahmins versed in the Vedas as royal chaplains and paid their homage to Brahmanic deities. We have also noticed in the inscriptions that Tāntric doctrines had crept into the Ġaiva cult of Kambuja. Hiraṇyadāma, who introduced the worship of the Royal God, taught four Tāntric texts to the first high priest of this deity. Several kings are initiated into the Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret) by their Brahman gurus.

1) R. D. Banerji, Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V., pp. 43-113, 1915.

11) D. C. Sen, Bengali Language and Literature, p. 30.

Udayadityavarman II, after celebrating the dikṣās (mystic consecrations), performed the mahotsavapujā according to Vrah Guhya¹ with the aid of the high priest of the Royal God Jayendra-pandita. Buddhism in Kambuja was apparently not so much tinged with Tantrism as far as we can learn from inscriptions.^{*} But images of He-vajra have been quite recently discovered at Angkor Thom (as the writer heard recently from N. Finot). This is a Tantric Buddhist divinity (which is Śaiva in its attributes) introduced into Tibet and Nepal from Bengal during the Pala period.

** There are however references in an inscription to the "Tantras of the Pāramis" in the references in a Buddhist work. (p. 188)*

In Java and Sumatra Mahāyāna Buddhism and the cult of Śiva, both deeply imbued with Tantric influence, are to be seen often blending with one another during this period. The Kamahāyanikan, consisting of Sanskrit verses explained by a Kavi (Old Javanese) commentary, professes to teach the Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna. Sir Charles Eliot thinks that it offers many parallels to Nepalese Tantric literature, which, as we know, consists of the teachings of the Buddhist monks of Magadha and Bengal during the Pala period. According to this treatise Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are emanations of the Dhyani Buddha Vairocana. The "pañca makaras" are also referred to in this strange work. Another Kavi text, which gives the story of Kunjarakarna, extols Vairocana as being Śiva and Buddha in one. The Javanese version of the Sutasoma Jataka, composed by one Tantular who lived at Majapahit in the reign of Rajasanagara (1350-1389 A.D.), states "The lord Buddha is not different from Śiva".¹¹ But most important of all from this point of view are the references to the Tantric practices in Java and Sumatra in I. J. L. Moens' article in

1) B.E.F.E.O., T. XV, no. 2, p. 83.

11) Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, pp. 173-176.

the Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde (Deel. LXIV - 1924). There we find extracts from Prapanca's Nagarkṛtagama (a Kavi work composed during the reign of Hyam Wuruk - fourteenth century) showing Kṛtanagara, the ruler of Singasari, as receiving worship as a Īiva-Buddha. But Īiva is here Bhairava and Buddha has the terrible demoniac aspect which we come across in the Vajrayāna. We find a statue of this king in a cremation ground which is an unmistakable proof of the Tantric doctrines which he professed. Again while discussing the Tantric inscriptions (1289⁰) of Adityavarman, a Sumatran prince, Moens describes this prince as receiving in a cremation ground the Bhairava consecration while on all sides corpses burnt on funeral pyres. The funeral monument of this prince states he possessed all the Buddhist virtues and that he was an incarnation of Lokeśvara.

Now we can definitely assert that at this time such a blend of Buddhism and Īaivism in the melting pot of Tantrism occurred only in Magadha and Bengal under the Palas. And up to this day we find such a syncretism of corrupt Buddhist and Īaiva doctrines in Nepal and in Tibet, and we know that these countries imported this cult from Pala Bengal. "The Nepalese Brahmins tolerate Buddhism. The Nepala-māhātmya (a Hindu text) says that to worship Buddha is to worship Īiva and the Svayambhu Purana (a Buddhist text) returns the compliment by recommending the worship of Paṇupati (Īiva). The official itenary of the Hindu pilgrim includes Svayambhu where he adores the Adi-Buddha under that name. More often the two religions adore the same image under different names; what is Avalokiteśvara to the one is Mahakāla to the other."¹ Sir Charles Eliot rightly says that this singular

1) Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p.118.

fusion of Buddhism with Hinduism, which Nepal now presents, helps us to understand what must have been the last phase in Pala Bengal. And we should compare with this the blend of the Śiva worship and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sumatra, Java and Kambuja. Established Buddhism on a sound footing in Tibet and was the B. Bhattacharya, in his "Indian Buddhist Iconography" (1924), states that the Çakti element in the Tantric doctrine - which brought in the Çaktis or the female energies of the Dhyani Buddhas - was first associated with the Mahāyānist cult by Indra-bhūti the King of Udyāna^{*(1)} (Chitral) about 700 A.D. He quotes the Tibetan Historian Tārānātha to that effect. But Tārānātha himself is our main authority for asserting that it was in the Vikramaçilā and the Jagaddala Universities, founded by the Pala Kings of Bengal, that this Tantrayāna Buddhism was fully developed, and that it was from these centres that famous missionaries went to preach in Tibet and Nepal. We learn that Sanscrit books were translated into Tibetan at Vikramaçilā itself, which was the resort of many Tibetan students. We also know that there was direct intercourse between Bengal and the Malay Archipelago. We have the copper plate grant of Devapala (about the end of the ninth century) granting five villages for the upkeep of a monastery, which is described quite fully. There we find that the illustrious Maharaja Bālaputra, the overlord of Suvarndvīpa (Sumatra), whose mother was Tārā, the daughter of a King Dharmasetu of the Lunar race and the queen of a king who was the son of the renowned ruler of Yava-dvīpa (Java), "with his mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nalanda built there a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities, and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty buildings - (This monarch) having requested King

(1) Tārānātha writes "Uddiyāna". Is this the same as Udyāna (Chitral)? Some have supposed Uddiyāna to be Orissa (Udghra) which is more probable as no trace has been found in the numerous images discovered in Chitral of Tantric Buddhism.

Devapaladeva through envoys..... issuing a charter (Devapala) granted these five villages."¹ his highly successful mission

Then we have the Memoirs of Atisa, a monk "born in 980 A.D. the royal family of Gaura at Vikrampur in Bangala" who established Buddhism on a sound footing in Tibet and was the guru of Bromton - the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet. These memoirs were written by Kalyana Mitra Phyang sorpa - the personal friend of a devoted companion of Atisa, and were printed in a Tibetan monastery in 1250 A.D. In this workⁱⁱ we find that Dipankara (whose earlier name was Atisa), after being ordained in the highest order of Bhiksu, resolved to go to Acarya Dharmakirti the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa. "There is a country filled with precious minerals and stones called Suvarnadvipa. Dharmakirti was born in the royal family of that country. With a view to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma he obtained leave from his father to go to Jambudvipa (India) for a pilgrimage to Vajrasana (Buddh-Gaya). The great acarya Çri Ratna at Vajrasana consented to instruct the Sumatran prince in Dharma only if he vowed to become a monk." After finishing his education at Vajrasana (Gaya), Dharmakirti went back to Suvarnadvipa and such was the fame of his learning that he made Suvarnadvipa the headquarters of Buddhism in the East. So in the company of some merchants Dipankara (or Atisa) embarked for Sumatra in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months. Dipankara resided in Suvarnadvipa for twelve years in order completely to master the teachings of Dharmakirti. Then he returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a sailing vessel

1) Epigraphica Indica - July, 1924, p. 310. *ibid.*, p. 79-81.

ii) Referred to in Sarat Chandra Das' Indian Pandits in Tibet.

visiting Ceylon and the island of forests on his way. It was after this that he went on his highly successful mission to Tibet. though we do not possess such direct evidence of

In a Nepalese manuscript with miniatures, ⁱ dating from about the eleventh century, the first miniature has the explanatory note "Dipankara (Atisa) in Yavadvipa". Yavadvipa often meant Sumatra as well as Java.

In the British Museum may be seen a Javanese image of the Singasari period (thirteenth century) with the inscription Bhavâni and Mâmaki in a North Indian script which is much more akin to Bengali than to Nagari. Mâmaki was the Çakti of Ratnasambhava - one of the Dhyani Buddhas - and here she has been identified with Bhavani or Durga. Dr. Vogel also mentions that several of the images of Eastern Java (of the Singasari and Majapahit ^{period} (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) ⁱⁱ period) bear inscriptions in a North Indian script. It seems to me that there is some resemblance between the Pala school of sculpture (which achieved considerable success under the artists Dhimân and Vitapala) and the later school of Javanese sculpture as seen in the images enshrined within the temples (i.e., not the reliefs of the Wayang style, which at this period served to decorate the exterior of the temples). The latest discoveries of M. Goloubeff have brought to light what seems to have been a renaissance of Khmer sculpture early in the fourteenth century. It is possible that some foreign influence - either Javanese or of the Pala school (the Bengali Buddhist artists in this period being scattered in all directions after the Muhammadan conquest) - may have been accountable for this. This last stage of sculpture is

i) Foucher - Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique, p.79-81.

ii) Influences of Indian Art, p. 76.

described as being very sweet in expression - which has been always a characteristic of Javanese art, in all periods.

And though we do not possess such direct evidence of intercourse between Bengal and Kambuja, we have got some valuable evidence of another type. Unfortunately the Khmer literature is not comparable in richness to the Kavi of Java, but there are many fairy tales and romances which are of considerable artistic merit. The history of the two princes Vorvong and Saurivong is the most favourite story of Cambodia. M. Pavie, who has edited it in his *Contes du Cambodge* (p.169-263) got the text of the story by comparing about 500 manuscripts (generally of palm-leaf) which he found in the principal temples of Cambodia (p. 10). It is in verse and many passages have even in the translation a charm of tender pathos, to which we cannot do any justice at all in the bare outline given below. The step-mother of the two young princes Saurivong and Vorvong, wishing to remove them from the way of her own son, falsely complains to their father, the King, that they had insulted her. The two princes are sentenced to death by the King, but the executioners take pity on them and let them escape. As the princes were Bodhisattvas, Indra and another god come to their help. The two gods transform themselves into cocks and fight near the tree under which the two brothers were sleeping, after a long journey. One of the cocks rebukes the other for its presumption in defying it saying that he who eats its flesh would be a king of two kingdoms after seven years. The other replies that he who eats its flesh would be a king after seven months. The two cocks fight till they are both killed. Saurivong, the elder brother, eats the second cock, and Vorvong the first. One evening they enter a deserted rest-house for travellers. The king of that country was dead and

had left a lovely and accomplished daughter. That very day the royal elephant had been let loose as the court astrologers had predicted that the future king of the realm had just reached the country. The elephant came straight to the lonely rest-house and without waking the princes took up Saurivong gently with his trunk, put him on his back and returned to the palace. The young Vorvong, when he woke up, found to his horror that his brother had disappeared and entered into a forest in search of him. The elder brother Saurivong, when he woke up and found himself in the royal court, asked first of all for his brother. A search was made for him, but in vain. Saurivong was crowned king in spite of his protests and then married the princess. Meanwhile, Vorvong reaches another kingdom (of King Thornit) and seeks shelter in an old woman's hut, who, however, seeing the diamond ring on his finger, takes him to be a thief and brings the king's guards who arrest him. He is imprisoned for six years in a cage on the sea-side. Then Indra appears in a vision to the princess of the realm (Kessy) and tells her that the prisoner is destined to be her husband. Meanwhile, a neighbouring King (Sotat) was threatened by a giant, and he appealed to King Thornit for help. The King at once collected his fleet, but the flagship could not be launched, in spite of all efforts. The prisoner Vorvong from his cage undertook to launch the ship. Being set free he prays to the gods, and then at a slight push of his finger the royal ship glides into the harbour waters. He is taken by King Thornit on board, and on reaching the kingdom of King Sotat, Vorvong fights with the giant and vanquishes him. King Sotat abdicates and puts Vorvong on his throne. Shortly afterwards King Thornit, who is also advanced in years, abdicates in his favour and marries him to

his daughter Keasy. Further misfortunes are however in the store for Vorvong. While travelling with his queen Kessey from one of his kingdoms to the other they suffer shipwreck, and husband and wife are separated. The queen finds shelter in a hut belonging to an old hunter and his wife, and soon after gives birth to a child. Being unable to take proper care of the child on account of the cruel treatment of the hunter's wife, she entrusts her son to an old woman, who is really Indra in disguise. Before parting with the baby, she ties round its neck the diamond ring of Vorvong. Indra puts the baby on the highway just when King Saurivong (for it is his kingdom) passes by on his elephant. The King recognises the diamond ring to be his brother's and adopts the child. He builds a palace for the baby, on the walls of which the scenes of the story of Saurivong and Vorvong, up to the time of their separation, are depicted. Travellers from distant countries are taken there to see these pictures, as by this means the King hopes to recover his lost brother. The plan succeeds. Vorvong, who is seeking his wife everywhere, comes to this place, recognises the scenes painted on the walls and is taken to his royal brother. Shortly afterwards, the old woman (Indra) leads Queen Kessey to the place to see her child. There is mutual recognition. The two brothers then march at the head of their armies to their father's kingdom, overthrow their step-brother, who was ruling there, and are reconciled to their old father. The hill which marked the site of the battle with their step-brother is still called Mount Vorvong-Saurivong.

One of the most popular fairy tales of Bengal (which the writer often heard in his childhood) follows the main outlines of this Cambodian story (D. C. Sen, Folk Literature of Bengal, p.166 & seq.) There also the two young princes

(1) Indra & Saurivong (p. 166) mentions that the last cloth of the great texture came (to Cambodia) from across the Indian seas. Ramchand writes in the middle of the 15th century that there was a great demand in Cambodia for Bengal muslin.

(Gita and Vasanta) are sentenced to death, on account of the machinations of their step-mother. The episode of the two cocks is there, who talk exactly in the same fashion. The royal elephant carries away the sleeping Gita to be crowned king. A merchant keeps Vasanta in captivity. The merchant's ship would not float on the sea. At Vasanta's touch it is successfully launched. Vasanta marries a princess, but during a voyage the wicked merchant throws him into the sea. The ending is exactly the same.

There are several versions of this story in Bengali, some which are given by D. C. Sen in his *Folk Literature of Bengal* (p. 136 & seq.) The Muhammadan version (which preserves, however, all the Hindu names) approaches nearest to the Cambodian. D. C. Sen states that this is one of a group of old Buddhist tales (handed down from the Pala period). They have been transmitted to the Muhammadan converts (who were mostly Buddhists in Bengal) from a period anterior to the Muhammadan conquest¹. Now we have found it in Cambodia, and it was probably brought over there by merchants from Bengal.⁽²⁾ There are several other Cambodian stories which resemble (though not so much as this) Bengali fairy tales. M. Haraprasad Gasteri writes in his introduction to N. N. Vasu's "Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa" (p. 21) that the flourishing merchants of Bengal were Buddhists. In the reign of Vallala Senn they were severely persecuted as their leader Vallabha, who possessed two forts and was enormously rich, refused to advance a loan to a non-Buddhist monarch. So these merchants were driven away from the kingdom, and those who remained in Bengal were degraded in caste. "It was people of these classes who carried Buddhist ideals (far and

1) D. C. Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal*, p. 156.

(2) Chou Ja Kuan (su p. 96) mentions that the best cloth of the finest texture comes (to Kamboja) from across the Western seas. Ramhisi writes in the middle of the 16th century that there was a great demand in Kamboja for Bengal muslin.

wide), held commercial relations with the countries of Eastern and Southern Asia, and were great in trade and industry. We hear of long sea-voyages (especially to Ceylon) made even in the fifteenth century by the Bengal Baniyas, glowing descriptions of which are to be found in works of 'Manasâr Bhâsân' written by various (early) poets of Bengal", (p. 23). It is curious that in these poems of merchant adventurers, the leading role is taken by Manasâ - a Nâgi goddess. *situated on the highest (and innermost) of a series of*

While we are discussing literature it may be pointed out that there were three regions each with its special Tantras, and that among the Tantras of the Vismukrântâ region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the Sammohana and the Niruttara Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (Sammoha and Nayottara) taught by Hiranyadâma to the first high priest of the Royal God. The Tantras Mundamala and Chinmamasta mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as Ciraçcheda - the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumburu (of which, according to the inscription, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a Gandharva and there is a Gandharva Tantra in the Vismukrântâ group. Again according to the Mahâsiddhasâra Tantra a second group of Tantras (the Acvagrântâ group) is allocated to the region extending from the Karañoyâ river (in the Dinajpur district of Bengal) to Java. Several China Tantras are mentioned in this group ⁱ.

Now we shall attempt to reinforce our argument with architectural evidence. French savants agree that though the architecture of Funan resembles (especially in ornamental

1) A. Avalon - Principles of Tantra - Introd., p.lxiii et seq.

details) the contemporary Pallava architecture - the new type introduced by Jayavarman II has very little in common with any South Indian school. One of the characteristic features of Dravidian structures is that the outermost courts and 'go-purams' (gates) are the most magnificent and that as we approach the main sanctuary in the interior, everything is on a much smaller scale. In Kambuja it is just the opposite. The Khmers had an eye for the perspective and the main shrine, situated on the highest (and innermost) of a series of terraces (each rising above the last), dominates the whole structure with its lofty towers.

M. Parmentier thinks that the common element in all the architecture of the Hinduised Indo-China and the Archipelago is the ancient Indian architecture in light materials (e.g., wood or wood and bricks) transported to these distant countries in its early Indian form¹. This type, imported at different stages of its evolution, has developed in each different country under different conditions. According to him, a type of Indian architecture in durable materials (like stone) may have existed in India in early times and may also have influenced to some extent the architecture of the Hinduised Far East, but the lighter type could be more easily imported and had therefore the greater influence on these distant regions. The lighter type of Indian architecture, being of a perishable nature, has disappeared long ago, and thus is not available for comparison with the old monuments of Farther India.

The magnificent universities and monasteries built by the Pala Kings in Magadha and Bengal have disappeared as they were brick structures and as they had to bear the full brunt

1) Etudes Asiatiques, T. II, p. 199-241.

of the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim invaders. But we have descriptions of some important Magadha shrines by Hsien Tsang and I-tsing in the seventh century. However, before we discuss monuments which have ceased to exist, we may consider the case of Budh-Gaya, which notwithstanding comparatively recent restorations, is still perhaps the oldest surviving temple in Magadha. Groslier in his "Recherches sur les Cambodgiens" (p. 359) draws our attention to the striking similarity in essential features between the imposing tower of Budh-Gaya and a brick tower on a far humbler scale at Hanchai (Cambodia) of probably the seventh century. This Hanchai tower, though anterior to the period of Jayavarman II, does not show any South Indian influence, but in its construction, consisting of similar successive storeys, superimposed one above the other (each diminishing in size as it gets higher), in its door-frames and lintels and in its pediments is almost a copy on a modest scale of the tower of Budh-Gaya. Groslier is of the opinion that from the seventh to the tenth centuries the Kambuja architect is strongly influenced by this great Magadha shrine. Even when brick towers of such a type had gone out of fashion, we find reliefs of such towers on the walls of later shrines like the Bayon. Gaiva architecture of South India thus has to make room in Kambuja for the Buddhist architecture of Magadha.

Now let us see I-tsing's description of Nalanda, towards the close of the seventh century¹. The gate, which was part of the building, was very high and was ornamented with fine sculptures. The projecting roof formed long galleries round the whole building which was square in form. In the

1) Les Religieux Eminents... par I-tsing, traduit par Chavannes, p. 85-87.

interior there were large open spaces. There were eight temples inside. They had a level terrace high up, which was however accessible. There was another terrace used as an observatory. The buildings were of three storeys (or on three successive terraces?) each raised above the other. The temples in the interior were perfectly aligned... There was a brick-paved esplanade - and one could come and go at one's ease. The brick structures rose to 30 or 40 feet in height. At the top have been represented human heads of the size of a man. There was a tank called the tank of the dragon (Naga?) This description is remarkably like the shrines of Hariharālaya (Banteai Prakhan) and Amarendrapura (Banteai Chmar) with their Naga tanks (Meboune) which Jayavarman II built soon after coming from Java. Again there is a description by Hsien Tsang of a Magadha monastery (Watters, Vol.II, p.105):- "This Mahayanist monastery had four courts with three-storeyed halls, lofty terraces and a succession of passages. At the head of the road through the middle gate were three temples... the bases were surrounded by balustrades and... walls and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief." In the opinion of Fergusson, Angkor Vat does not resemble any South Indian temple. According to him the Jain shrine of Ranpur (in Jodhpur, Rajputana) approaches nearest to it in general appearance. ¹ It has been said that as none of the existing ancient monuments of India resemble the Kambuja shrines, therefore the Kambuja architecture formed an independent school by itself. In this connection we must remember that very few really old temples have survived in North India - especially the Pala buildings have entirely disappeared. But Chinese descriptions of Magadha Buddhist architecture

1) J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Revised ed. (1910), Vol. II, p. 328.

do seem to point to something analogous to the Kambuja type.

Now we come to a curious episode of Pala history. A prince of the "Kambuja" dynasty conquered a portion of North-east Bengal (the Dinajpur district) from the Palas about the middle of the tenth century. Early in the eleventh century Mahipala I won back this lost dominion from a descendant of this "Kamboja" prince. These foreign princes have left an inscription, dated 888C (966 A.D.), on an artistically carved pillar at Bangargh (Dinajpur district). It commemorates the erection of a Giva temple... "this temple of the moon-crested Giva..... was completed in the year 888 by that King of Gauda of the Kamboja family (Kambojānvaya) whose ability.... are sung by the Vidyādhara¹s in heaven with delight." The name Kamboja was applied by the Ceylonese chronicle to Kambuja itself. It is generally considered that these Kambojas of Bengal are Tibetans. The close relations, which I have tried to show between Bengal and Farther India, may have led some adventurer of the Kambuja royal family to try his fortunes in a region so remote from his own country. He need not have come with a large army. I do not want to press the point further, but the word Kambojānvaya seems to be curiously reminiscent of Kambuja epigraphy. It should be noted, however, that there is no known example of an attempt like this made from Indo-China in a region so distant from the sea-coast. If the foreign adventurers did really come from Kambuja - they came by the land-route.) and so on.

Before we conclude, something might be said about the Khmer language.¹¹ This language forms with the Mon (the vela (tiar)-pel; haster-hat (this is the abbreviation in North

1) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911, p.619.

11) This section is based on G. Maspero, Grammaire de la langue Khmère.

Telaing of Pegu) a group which has been called Mon-Khmer group, and a kinship has been recognised between the Mon-Khmer group on one side and the Khasi (Assam), Kolarian or Munda (Chota Nagpur) and the Senoi (Malay Peninsula) languages on the other (according to Sten Konow, Dr. Blagden and Schmidt). We get specimens of old Khmer from inscriptions going back to 629 A.D. There has been no violent change since then. Sanscrit has introduced into the Khmer language a large number of words of administration, jurisprudence, geography, science and religion which have been assimilated and adapted to the Khmer language. On the other hand, the Pali words, which came in later with Hinayana Buddhism, have generally preserved their original (written) form.

The Khmer alphabet is derived from the Pallava or the East Chalukya alphabet of South India. As we have already said the words derived from Sanscrit are numerous—indeed they are so many that Aymonier says that an entire dictionary can be out of the words of Sanscrit origin which are in current use in the Khmer language. These Sanscrit words have, however, been mostly modified according to certain fairly well-defined rules. E.g., the Sanscrit 'ga' becomes 'k' in Khmer, 'ṭa' becomes 'd', d is t, 'pa' often becomes 'ba', 'ba' becomes 'pa', 'j'a'a', 'e' and 's'a's' and 'v'a'p'. We may give a few examples: Sans. devatā-tevoda (in learned Khmer)= tepda, (popular Khmer); puruṣa-baros=pros; cāsana=sāsna=sas; svarga=suorkea=suor; vak=veaca=peak; vimāna=phimean (in popular Khmer) and so on.

There is a tendency in the Khmer language to be brief and monosyllabic. E.g., linga=li; viṣa (poison)=pis; doṣa=tous; vela (time)=pel; hasta=hat (this is the abbreviation in North

1) G. Maspero - Grammaire de langue Khmère, p. 181.

India too); etc. Sometimes the abbreviation is made by eliminating the vowel between two consonants, as e.g., garuḍa-krut; pati-pṛeṣi; saras(tank)-sra. Sometimes the first letter of the word is eliminated, and if this is 'n', then the consonant of the second syllable is nasalised, as e.g., nagara-ṅkor.

Another sphere in which Indian influence has left its stamp is that of the existing Cambodian law. The eighth and the ninth books of the Mānava Dharma Castra, which deal with civil and criminal law, still form, according to Leclerc, the basis of modern Cambodian legislation. But the Brahmanic code has been considerably modified by Buddhist influence. Especially the status of the woman, in the eye of the law, is considerably higher than in Hindu Law. The wife is not so much dependant on the husband. Not only has she an exclusive right to her "strī-dhana" (her dowry or any property which she may have received from any member of her family before her marriage) but she shares jointly with her husband in any legacy he may get after their marriage. As regards rights of succession the daughter is placed on the same footing as the son. Leclerc ascribes this improvement of the woman's position in law to Buddhist influence, combined with that of local Indo-Chinese customs. It is curious that in Bengal also the position of the woman is decidedly better than in the other provinces as the Dayabhaga in this respect is more liberal than the Mitākṣara. This feature of the Dayabhaga may well be traced to a survival of the Buddhist spirit even after the downfall of the Pala dynasty in Bengal. So the same cause may have produced the same effect in both Kambuja and Bengal.

1) A. Leclerc - Recherches sur les origines Brahmaniques des lois Cambodgiennes.

Notwithstanding these modifications, however, the present law of Cambodia is still deeply imbued with the spirit of the Brahmanic code which the Brahman Kaundinya (the second of that name in Kambuja) is supposed to have introduced there in the fourth century A.D.

Indeed Kambuja, Çrivijaya, etc., were so highly Indianised that Arab travellers of the tenth century included them in India without hesitation. Thus Ibn Rosteh, who lived for two years in the Khmer country, writes (903 A.D.): "Khmer is a portion of India"....."In the sea of East India the countries are those of India, Khmer, etc... and the people belong to India." Masudi says (943 A.D.): "A race of Indians (of the family of Cain) occupies the country of Khmer in India.... India is a vast country. It is bounded by the country of Jâwaga (Çrivijaya) which is the kingdom of the Maharaja. Jâwaga, which separates China from India,¹ belongs to the latter country."

1) Gabriel Ferrand, Relations des voyages et textes géographiques Arabes.... Vol.I, pp.65, 68 & 92.